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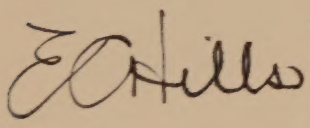
HISPANIC STUDIES



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HISPANIC STUDIES

BY

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PREFACE

A distinguished friend suggested that it would be well to select the more important articles on the Spanish language and literature that I have written and published in various reviews, and republish them in one volume.

This I have done with much diffidence and I now offer them to those who are interested in Hispanic studies in the hope that they may be of some service.

E. C. H.

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HISPANIC STUDIES

NEW-MEXICAN SPANISH

This article is merely a contribution toward a record of popular New-Mexican Spanish. It is incomplete and fragmentary; and, doubtless, it has many errors, since most of the words and expressions it contains were received through the ear. By New-Mexican Spanish is here meant the popular Spanish speech of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico.[1] This region is only a small part of the southwestern states and territories where Spanish is spoken, and yet it is as large as Italy. Its population may be roughly estimated at 125,000 Spanish-speaking persons, of whom some 40,000 or 50,000 are in Colorado and the remainder in northern New Mexico.

The language spoken throughout this extensive region is nearly uniform. The people, for the most part, are shepherds, drovers, or small "ranchers," or they are day-laborers in the mines, in the sawmills, or on the railways. They are restless and migratory, and move continually to and fro. In certain cultivated valleys and in certain villages one may detect slight differences in vocabulary or in pronunciation—chiefly in accent and intonation; but they are so slight that I have not attempted to record them. In the cities of Santa Fé and Albuquerque certain peculiarities of speech, for the most part unimportant, have developed. The speech of these cities, therefore, is not included in this article. Within the region treated, the differences in vocabulary and pronunciation seem to be in the individual or in the family, rather than in the locality.

There are in New Mexico several important private schools, mostly under Roman Catholic control, in which the

[1] I have spent, all told, six months in New Mexico, and three and one-half years in Colorado, and my New-Mexican Spanish notebook has been an inseparable companion.

instruction is given in Spanish, and in the larger towns one meets cultivated persons who speak excellent Spanish. There are also several periodicals published in the Spanish language. But the larger part of the Spanish-speaking people of Colorado and New Mexico are ignorant of Spanish letters. Colorado has had an excellent public school system for many years, but the real development of a public school system in New Mexico dates from 1890. In the public schools of both commonwealths the instruction is given in English. Therefore, the older generation of New Mexicans is, as a rule, illiterate, while the younger generation may read and write English rather than Spanish. Popular New-Mexican Spanish has thus been kept largely free from the leveling-down process of the schoolmaster.

New-Mexican Spanish has been influenced only to a slight extent by English. The speech of the wealthier, more "enlightened" classes shows greater traces of English influence than does that of the common people. A few words and expressions of English origin are in common use; but pronunciation, and inflection and syntax, seem not to have been influenced at all. On the other hand, a strong Indian influence is evident in vocabulary and in pronunciation (cf. the *sh* sound, and an Indian intonation that is common), but not in inflection or construction.

Popular New-Mexican Spanish does not differ greatly from the speech of the rural districts of northern Mexico; nor does it differ from the popular Castilian of central Spain to the extent that the two peoples may not understand each other with little difficulty. Castilian speech, with many Andalusian characteristics, was carried to Mexico several hundreds of years ago, and thence was carried northward into New Mexico. For generations the New Mexicans have had little intercourse with the people of central and southern

Mexico, and almost none with the people of Spain. They have lived in isolation, and they have been ignorant of letters; and yet their speech has not changed greatly since it came from Spain. Probably greater changes have occurred in the popular speech of central Spain than in that of New Mexico during the last century.

In this respect it is interesting to compare the history of Spanish with that of French in America. While French has tended to break up into divergent speech groups that differ considerably one from the other and all from standard French, Spanish has held together with remarkable tenacity, and has, in the main, traveled the same road of phonetic development that the speech of central Spain has followed (cf. *x* [= *sh*] > *j*, in America and in Spain). Throughout Spanish America the speech of cultivated Castilians is still the standard in literary expression; but, in spoken Spanish, the Americans have certain peculiarities that are recognized standards of speech throughout all Spanish America (cf. *z* > *s*, *ll* > *y*,[2] *j* > a front aspirate, etc.).[3]

Thus we have, as it were, a smaller circle within a larger, a general standard for all the Spanish-speaking world, but with certain definite modifications in Spanish America.

I have pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Professor C. C. Ayer of the University of Colorado, Dr. Carlos Bransby of the University of California, Professors C. H.

[2] Dr. Bransby tells me that in central Colombia the *l* element of *ll* is retained.

[3] It will be noted that these phenomena are, for the most part, apparently of Andalusian origin. Professor Ford has called my attention to the fact that several of the phonetic peculiarities of New-Mexican Spanish obtain also in the Western and other dialects of the Spanish peninsula (e.g., *e* > *i* before *a*, *o*, *u*; *o* > *u* before *a*, *e*, *i*; intervocalic *n* sometimes falls, leaving the preceding vowel nasal; *dije* < *dice*, etc.; *muncho* < *mucho*, etc.). These facts would seem to indicate that the Spaniards, from whom New-Mexican Spanish has come, were (1) of Castilian, (2) of Andalusian, and (3) of Western-Spanish (perhaps some of Portuguese), origin.

Grandgent and J. D. M. Ford of Harvard University, and Professor C. C. Marden of Princeton University, who have kindly read parts of this article and have made valuable suggestions and criticisms; and I am especially indebted to Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa[4] of Stanford University who has not only read and passed judgment on parts of this article, but has also called my attention to many valuable facts.[5]

PHONOLOGY

In this article SC denotes the standard speech of Central Spain, and NMS denotes the popular speech of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico.[6] In attempting to write

[4] Throughout the article I have marked with an asterisk the facts that Professor Espinosa first called to my attention, although in some cases my explanation of the phenomena differs from that suggested by Professor Espinosa. But, in every case, whether the facts came to me directly, or through another, I have attempted to verify them before incorporating them in this article.

Dr. Bransby has kindly pointed out words in the Vocabulary that are also common to central Colombia. I have marked these by footnotes. There has never been much intercourse between the New Mexicans and the Colombians, and it would therefore seem that those words that are common to both regions were brought over from Spain.

[5] The following statistics, taken from the reports of the census of 1900, may be of interest:

New Mexico—total population, 195,310, of whom 143,216 were born in New Mexico, 6,649 in Mexico, 27 in Spain, and 27 in other Spanish-speaking countries. There were 13,144 Indians, 1,610 Negroes, and 349 Mongolians. Illiteracy, among those at least ten years of age, was 33.2 per cent (probably one-half of the Spanish-speaking population was illiterate).

In Colorado the population is composed chiefly of English-speaking people, most of whom were born in the Eastern and Middle-Western States. Most of the "Mexicans" are found in the southern third of the state. Of these 10,222 were born in New Mexico, 274 in Mexico, 41 in Spain, and 235 in other Spanish-speaking countries.

[6] The orthography and the pronunciation given by the Spanish Academy are taken as a basis of comparison, although I know full well that even cultivated Castilians do not speak as the Academy wishes them to do. For instance, *oscuro* (*obscuro*), *sétimo* (*séptimo*), *trasparente* (*transparente*), *estender* (*extender*), *amáo* or *amáu* (*amado*), *pa* (*para*), etc., etc., probably occur as commonly in Central Spain as in New Mexico.

NMS phonetically, certain symbols are used as follows: ˜, over a vowel, indicates that the vowel is nasal; *b* = voiced bilabial spirant, *B* = voiced bilabial stop; *d* = voiced interdental spirant, *D* = voiced dental stop; *g* = voiced guttural or palatal spirant, *G* = voiced guttural or palatal stop; *n* = voiced dental nasal, *N* = voiced velar nasal; *sh* = French *ch*; *z* = voiced *s*; *i̯* = *i* in hiatus; *u̯* = *u* in hiatus.

Vowels

Quantity

In NMS stressed vowels are more prolonged than in SC, and yet it is rarely true that any vowel is really "long." In exclamations, such as *¡BẽNGa!* (*venga*), *¡prõto!* (*pronto*), the final vowel is often long, and it may be prolonged indefinitely; but in normal NMS, vowels should be classed as "medium long" or "short."

In general, it may be said that stressed vowels are medium long and unstressed vowels are short: *tomó, tomo, tomé, tome*. But, final unstressed *a* or *o* tends to become medium long, and a free vowel immediately preceding or following the stressed syllable of a word of three or more syllables (except final *a* or *o*) tends to become very short: *boca, mã(n)o; pájaro, artículo, dãDole* (*dándole*). It is well to add that a closed syllable, although containing a short vowel, is usually medium long.

a

1. Stressed *a*, not final, = French back *a* (approximately) in *vase, pâle*, etc. Before a nasal in the same syllable, it is somewhat farther back than French back *a*, and it is slightly rounded, as in *pãn, tãn*; before *l* or *r*, in the same syllable,

or before a consonant + *l, r,* it seems to be identical with French back *a,* as in *cual, mar, amable*; in an open syllable before a single consonant, it is usually slightly farther front than French back *a,* as in *cajteyã(n)o* (*castellano*), *ejtatua* (*estatua*), *casa.*

2. Stressed final *a* = French front *a* (approximately) in *la,* etc.: *pie(d)á* (*piedad*), *suidá* (*ciudad*).

3. *a,* before *n,* or *m,* + a consonant, is strongly nasal and somewhat rounded, approaching the Parisian French *ã* in *tant, vent,* etc. The *n* or *m* tends to vanish. Ex.: *cãto* (*canto*), *cãtar* (*cantar*), *ãDale* (*ándale*), *cãsar* (*cansar*), *ã(m)Boj* (*ambos*). See *m* and *n.*

4. Unstressed *a* = French front *a* (approximately) in *patte, salle,* etc.: *rosa, rosaj* (*rosas*), *tomãn, abía* (*había*).

Note:

Unstressed *a* usually falls before a vowel: *asi' a* (*hacia a*), *(b)amoj aselo* (*vamos a hacerlo*), *a caus' e ti*[7] (*a causa de ti*), *¿l' am' él?* (*¿la ama él?*), *p' irse* (*para irse*), *ogar** (*ahogar*), *orcar** (*ahorcar*), *pũn* or *pãn** (*para un*), *p' ojté** or *pa ujté* (*para usted*).

e

e is always more or less open: it is never so close as French *e* in *et, cassé,* etc.

1. Stressed *e* is slightly rounded in the diphthong *ue*: *muero, cuẽto* (*cuento*).

2. Stressed *e* is medium open in a checked syllable: *ser, él.*

3. Stressed *e,* in a free syllable or final, is more nearly close: it is between the English *e* of met and the French *e* of *et*: *meto, temo, café, tomé.*

4. Unstressed *e,* not final, is open and tends toward the neutral position (cf. the first French *e* of *distinctement* and

[7] See footnote 4.

the English *e* of *battery*) : *temería, metería, ĭtérprete* (*intérprete*).

5. Unstressed final *e* is medium open: *tome, mete, si̯ete.*

Note:

1. Unstressed *e*, before *a, o, u*, becomes *i̯*: *li̯al* (*leal*), *ri̯al* (*real*), *desi̯ar*[8] (*desear*), *peli̯ar* (*pelear*), *ti̯ aseite* (*este aceite*), *li̯ŏn* (*león*), *pi̯ŏn* (*peón*), *pi̯or* (*peor*), *u*(*m*) *Baso di̯ agu̯a* (*un vaso de agua*), *di̯ unu̯ i̯ otro** (*de uno y otro*).[9]

2. *e*, immediately following a stressed vowel, > *i*: *trai* (*trae*), *caij* (*caes*), *leĭn* (*leen*).

3. Final unstressed *e* > i, after the palatals *ch, sh, ñ, y* (or *y* < *ll*): *cochi** (*coche*), *lechi** (*leche*), *pũ*(*n*)*shi** (*"punshe"*), *su̯eñi** (*sueñe*), *cai* or *cayi** (*calle*).

4. In the radical-changing verbs of the second and third classes, the stem vowel *e* > *i*, when unstressed: *sĭtir* (*sentir*), *pidir* (*pedir*), etc.

5. Initial *e*, before a nasal + a dental or labial, sometimes becomes the back, slightly rounded, nasal *a*: *ãtõsej** (*entonces*), *ãDõDe** (*endonde*), *ãtusiazmo** (*entusiasmo*).

6. Unstressed *e* falls before *e, i*: *dél* (*de él*), *frir* (*freír**), *ri̯ir** or *rir* (*reír*), *creo qu'* (*que*) *ibãn, t'* (< *te*) *ibi̯erno* (*este hibierno*) ; but, note *ler* or *leyer* (*leer*).

i

1. Stressed *i*, in a free syllable and before a single consonant, = French *i* in *bâti*: *comí, ejcrito* (*escrito*).

2. Stressed *i* is slightly less close in a checked syllable, or in a free syllable and before two consonants: *pidir, tĭta* (*tinta*), *posible.*

3. Unstressed *i* is open, approaching English *i* in *sit*: *máquina, petisi̯ŏn* (*petición*).

[8] But *deséu, deseaj*, etc.

[9] Note also, with intervening consonant, *siñor* or *señor, asigún* (*a según*).

Note:

1. Unstressed $i > e$, if followed by i (usually stressed) in the same word: *menijtro* (*ministro*), *ẽDebi(d)u̯o** (*individuo*), *ẽ(m)Bẽsible** (*invencible*), *besita* (*visita*), *me(d)esina* (*medicina*), *felesidá* (*felicidad*), *prẽsipi̯o** (*principio*).

The radical-changing verbs of the second and third classes are exceptions to this rule. Cf. *sĩtir* (*sentir*), *sĩtí* (*sentí*); *pidir* (*pedir*), *pidimoj* (*pedimos* = *Pret.*). These forms are by analogy to the other forms with stem vowel *i*.

2. Final *is* and *iz* > *ej*: *crisej* (*crisis*), *lapej* (*lápiz*).

o

o is always somewhat open: it is never so close as French *o* in *mot*.

1. Stressed *o* is open before a consonant in the same syllable, or if nasal, or in *oi*; this sound of *o* resembles English *o* in *for*, but it is somewhat more rounded: *por*, *cõ(n)*, *tõto* (*tonto*), *oi* (*hoy*).

2. Stressed *o* is slightly open in a free syllable: *abló* (*habló*), *toma*.

3. Unstressed *o* is slightly open: *temo*, *mã(n)o*, *tomé*, *tomaré*.

Note:

1. Unstressed $o > u̯$, before *a*, *e*, *i*: *nu̯ asej** (*no haces*), *tu̯aya* (*toalla*), *almu̯á* (*almohada*), *quiei̯u̯ agu̯a** (*quiero agua*), *pi̯asu̯ é pãn* (*pedazo de pan*), *unu̯ era** (*uno era*), *esu̯ ej** (*eso es*), *diju̯ él* (*dijo él*), *nu̯ ise* (*no hice*). Note also stressed $o > u̯$, in *s'ejcapu̯é cai* (*se escapó de caer*), etc.

2. After a vowel, unstressed *o* usually becomes *u*: *amáu* (*amado*); *cabayu* or *cabáu* (*caballo*); *sẽtáu* (*centavo*); *beu* (*veo*); *friu* (*frío*).[10]

[10] *au* < *ado* is a pure diphthong; *au* < *avo*, *abo*, *allo*, etc., tends to remain dissyllabic,* and the *u* is open.

3. After the palatals *ch*, *sh*, *ñ*, and *y* (including *y* < *ll*), unstressed *o* usually becomes open *u*: *ã(n)chu* (*ancho*), *mushu* (*musho*), *añu* (*año*), *suyu* (*suyo*), *gayu* (*gallo*).[11]

4. Initial *os-*, *hos-*, *obs-* > *es* (or *ej* < *es*): *ejtẽtasi̯õn** (*ostentación*), *ejpital** (*hospital*), *ejcuro* (*obscuro*), *ejtáculo* (*obstáculo*), *esequi̯o** (*obsequio*), *esẽ(n)o* (*obsceno*).

5. In the radical-changing verbs of the second class, the stem-vowel *o* > *u*, except under the stress (when it becomes *u̯e*, as in SC): *durmir* (*dormir*), *murir* (*morir*).

u

1. Stressed *u* is close (but less close than French *ou*): *tú*, *único*.

2. Stressed *u* is less close in a checked syllable, or if nasal: *multa*, *asũto* (*asunto*), *mũDo* (*mundo*).

3. Unstressed *u* is open: *mũ(n)chísimo* (*muchísimo*).

Nasal Vowels

A vowel, before or after a nasal consonant, becomes slightly nasal: a vowel, before *m* or *n* in the same syllable, is strongly nasal (for the loss of *m* and *n*, see these letters): *no*, *niño*, *mu(d)o*, *sĩn*, *põn*, *ũ(m) Baso* (*un vaso*), *ã(m)-Bisi̯õn* (*ambición*).

Diphthongs

1. *aí*, *aú* > *ai*, *au*, respectively: *paij* (*país*), *maij* (*maíz*), *ai* (*ahí*), *baul* (*baúl*).

2. *eí* < *i̯i* or *i*: *ri̯ir** or *rir* (*reír*), *frir* (*freír*).

3. *oí* > *u̯i* or *oyé*: *u̯ir** or *oyer* (*oír*); *u̯ido* (*oído*).

4. *aé* > *ai*, *ayé* or *e*: *cai(r)*,* *cayer*, or *quer** (*caer*); *trai(r)*,* *trayer*, or *trer** (*traer*); *mejtro* (*maestro*).

[11] The pronunciation of this final *u* < *o* (except in *au* < *ado* where *u* is close) seems to hesitate between close *o* and open *u*, but I consider it to be usually an open *u* (= approximately English *u* in *full*).

5. *eé* > *e* or *eyé*: *ler* or *leyer* (*leer*). Note also *leyido* (*leído*).

Labials

b, v

1. *b* and *v* are usually a voiced bilabial spirant: *abla*(*b*)*a* (*hablaba*), *bota, binir* (*venir*).

2. After a nasal, *b, v,* > a voiced bilabial stop: *ũ*(*m*) *Baso* (*un vaso*), *cõ*(*m*) *Burla* (*con burla*).

Note:

1. *bue, vue* > *g̈ue*: *g̈ue*(*n*)*o* (*bueno*), *ag̈elo* (*abuelo*), *g̈elta* (*vuelta*), *g̈elbo* (*vuelvo*). After a nasal, *B* appears: *ũ*(*m*) *Bue*(*n*) *õ*(*m*)*Bre* (*un buen hombre*), *ũ*(*m*) *Buei* (*un buey*). Cf. *g* and *h*. *ue* (< *bue*), instead of *g̈ue*, is heard, but it is rare in NMS.

2. *aul* and *aur* tend to become *abl* and *abr* respectively: *jabla** (*jaula*), *Abrelio** (*Aurelio*).

3. *b*, final in a syllable, falls: *asurdo* (*absurdo*), *ejcuro* (*obscuro*), *sujcrisiõn* (*subscripción*); but *amable*, etc.

4. Intervocalic *b* sometimes falls (chiefly when preceded or followed by unstressed *u*, including *u* < *o*, and in the verb ending *-aba*); *sẽtáu* (*centavo*); *yuer* (*llover*); *al cau* or even *al co** (*al cabo*); *nu aj abrilo** (*no vayas a abrirlo*); *tomaba, tomaua*, or *tomá*,[12] etc. Note also: *amoj aselo** (*vamos a hacerlo*); and even *ã*(*m*) *pa casa** (*vamos para casa*). *Amoj* (*vamos*) appears to be by analogy to *nu amoj* (*no vamos* < *no vayamos*).

p

p = SC *p*.

Note:

1. *p*, final in a syllable, falls: *sétimo* (*séptimo*), *sujcrisiõn* (*subscripción*).

[12] When *b* falls in *aba*, there seems to be often a trace of a hiatus *u*: *amaua*, or (in rapid speech) *amá*.

But:

2. *apt* and *aps*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, > *aut*[13] and *aus* respectively: *auto* (*apto*), *cáusula* (*cápsula*).

3. *ept*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, > *eut* or *et*: *aseuto* or *aseto* (*acepto*), *cõseuto* or *cõseto* (*concepto*).

4. *epc*, before *e*, *i*, > *es* or *aus*: *cõsesi̯õn* or *cõsausi̯õn** (*concepción*), *esesi̯õn* or *esausi̯õn* (*excepción*).

u̯

u̯ = SC unstressed *u* in hiatus: *gu̯āte* (*guante*), *gü̯ē(n)o* (*bueno*).

f

f = SC *f*.

Note:

1. *f* > *j* before *u̯* + vowel: *ju̯erte* (*fuerte*), *ju̯ego* (*fuego*), *ju̯í* (*fuí*), *aju̯era* (*afuera*). Sometimes *f* > *j* before *u* + consonant, or before *o*: *perjume** (*perfume*), *jogõn* (*fogón*).

2. Before *e* or *i*, intervocalic *f* sometimes becomes *fj*:[14] *cafjé** (*café*).

Note also *ju̯ea* < *fuella* (SC *huella*).

m

m = SC *m*: *tomo, mirar.*

Note:

Before *B* or *p*, *m* becomes very indistinct, and may fall, leaving the preceding vowel strongly nasal: *ã(m)Bisi̯õn* (*ambición*), *ũ(m) Baso* (*un vaso*). Usually a slight trace of consonantal *m* remains.

[13] Cf. SC *bautismo*, etc.

[14] This is as well as I can express it graphically.

Dentals

d

1. *d* is usually a voiced interdental spirant: *berde* (*verde*), *de(d)o*.

2. After *l* or a nasal, *d* is a voiced dental stop (*D*): *ejpalDa* (*espalda*), *ãDale* (*ándale*).

Note:

1. Intervocalic *d* falls regularly in *ada, ado, oda, odo,* and rarely in *ida, ido*: in other cases *d* may usually fall whenever clearness and euphony permit: *amá* (*amada*), *na* (*nada*), *amáu* (*amado*), *toa* (*toda*), *to* (*todo*), *pi̯aso** (*pedazo*), *mi̯ a** (*me da*), *deu* or *dedo, mi̯eu* or *miedo, pu̯e(e)* or *pu̯ede*; but *comida, comido, su̯idá* (*ciudad*) etc. Note *cõ(m)pá** (*compadre*).

2. By analogy, initial *d* may fall: *ij* que* (*diz que*), *ejpasi̯o* (*despacio*), *no qui̯eu̯ ártelo** (*no quiero dártelo*), *ame** (*dame*); but after *l* or *n*, *d* cannot fall: *ãDõDe** (*endonde*), *cõ Dar** (*con dar*), *él Da* (*él da*).

The *d* of *de* usually falls before a consonant: *pi̯asu̯é pãn* (*pedazo de pan*); before a vowel, *de* > *di*, or it falls altogether: *ũ(m) Baso di̯ agu̯a* (*un vaso de agua*), *tẽNGo mi̯e(d)u̯ aselo* (*tengo miedo de hacerlo*).

t

t = SC *t*: *tío, bota.*

z

z, and *c* + *e*, *i*, > *s* (or *j* < *s*): *casa* (*caza* or *casa*), *nu̯ese[j]* (*nueces*), *sapato* (*zapato*), *paj* (*paz*).

l

l = SC *l*: *la, él.*

li + vowel tends to become *y*: *sayẽDo* (*saliendo*), *muyẽDo* (*moliendo*).

n

1. *n* = SC *n*: *no, bino* (*vino*).

2. *n*, before a guttural or palatal consonant, becomes a velar nasal spirant (*N*), as in SC: *bāNco* (*banco*), *bēNGo* (*vengo*), *narāNja* (*naranja*), *ũN Gu̯eso* (*un hueso*).

But:

1. Before a dental, *n* falls, leaving the preceding vowel strongly nasal: *cāto* (*canto*), *cātar* (*cantar*), *tēDer* (*tender*), *cāsar* (*cansar*), *cāsáu* (*cansado*). Before *f, ch, sh,* it becomes very indistinct, and may fall: *ĩ(n)fi̯erno* (*infierno*), *ã(n)chu* (*ancho*), *pũ(n)shi* (*punshe*), etc. (Note above in § 2 that *n* > *N* before *c, G, j*).

2. Intervocalic *n* sometimes falls (chiefly in *ana, ene*; rarely in *ina, ino*), leaving the preceding and the following vowels nasal: *semā́* (*semana*); *ermā́** (*hermana*); *ti̯ẽ*[*e*]* (*tiene*); *bi̯ẽ*[*e*] (*viene*); *ermano, or ermā́ũ** (*hermano*); *gu̯eno,* or *gu̯ẽo** (*bueno*); but *bino* (*vino*).[15]

3. *n* falls before *sp* or *st*: *trajparēte* (*transparente*), *cojtāte* (*constante*).

4. *ni* + vowel tends to become *ñ*: *ñeto* (*nieto*), *Ātoñu** (*Antonio*).

Although they are not properly dentals, *ll* and *ñ* are given here.

ll

Initial *ll* > *y*: *yamar* (*llamar*), *yubi̯a* (*lluvia*).

Intervocalic *ll* usually becomes *y*: *gayu* (*gallo*), *cabayu* (*caballo*), *oya* (*olla*), *poyu* (*pollo*), *ju̯eya* (*huella*).

Note:

1. *ll* falls in *illa, illo*: *sía* (*silla*), *mātequía* (*mantequilla*), *potríu* (*potrillo*), *tríu* (*trillo*). Note the analogous forms: *fríu, fría, tenía,* etc.

[15] Some New Mexicans retain intervocalic *n* in all positions.

2. In *ella, ello,* usage varies between *ea, eu,* and (less commonly) *eya, eyu*: *ea* or *eya* (*ella*), *euj* or *eyuj* (*ellos*), *bea* or *beya* (*bella*), *beu* or *beyu* (*bello*). Note the analogous forms: *beu* or *beyu* (*veo*), *bea* or *beya* (*vea*), *paséu* or *paseyu** (*paseo*), *cã(m)Béu* or *cã(m)Beyu** (*cambio*).

3. Less commonly, *ll* may fall in *alla, allo*: thus, *a** or *ayá* (*allá*), *cate** or *cáyate* (*cállate*), *cabayu* or *cabáu** (*caballo*). Compare *cate* or (more emphatic) *cáyate* with *base* or *báyase* (*váyase*).

4. Final *lle* tends to become *i*: *bai** or *bayi* (*valle*), *cai** or *cayi* (*calle*), *mu̯ei* or *mu̯eyi* (*muelle*). Compare *mu̯ei, mu̯eij** or *mu̯eyij* (*muelle, muelles*) with *rei, reij** or *reyij* (*rey, reyes*).

5. In *llé, llí,* the *y* is indistinct: *poyito* (*pollito*), *cabayito* (*caballito*), *siyeta* (*silleta*).[16]

ñ

ñ = SC *ñ*: *añu, niña.*

Gutturals

g

1. *g* is usually a voiced guttural or palatal spirant, as often in SC: *gato, aga* (*haga*), *algo, ormiga* (*hormiga*). Intervocalic *g* is pronounced very softly, and before *u̯* it may disappear in rapid, careless speech.[17]

2. After *N*, *g* = a voiced guttural or palatal stop (*G*): *tẽNGo* (*tengo*), *bẽNGa* (*venga*), *dejtīNGue* (*distingue*).

Note:

1. *gü̯*, before a vowel, is sometimes confused with *gü̯* < *bu*; thus, one hears *ũN Gu̯ãte* or (less commonly) *ũ(m)*

[16] Professor Espinosa holds that *ll* falls in *llé, llí,* but my observation leads me to believe that a somewhat indistinct hiatus *y* is present.

[17] In American English, *gü̯* in Spanish names is uniformly pronounced *w*, as in Saguache (*Sah-wátch*), *Guanajato* (*Wah-nah-háh-to*), etc.

*Bu̯ãte** (*un guante*), *agu̯a* or *abu̯a** (*agua*). Cf. *gü̯ẽ(n)o*, but *ũ(m) Bu̯ẽ(n) õ(m)Bre* (*un buen hombre*).

2. *g*, final in a syllable, falls: *dino* (*digno*), *inorãte* (*ignorante*), *Inasi̯o** (*Ignacio*); but *negro*, *siglo*, etc. By exception, *g* falls in *ilesi̯a** (*iglesia*).

3. *g* is sometimes used between back vowels to avoid hiatus: *yo go tú** (*yo o tú*), *uno gu̯otro** (*uno u otro*).

c

c + *a*, *o*, *u*, and *qu* + *e*, *i*, represent the same sound in NMS and in SC: *casa*, *que*.

Note:

1. *c*, final in a syllable, falls: *asi̯õn* (*acción*), *lesi̯õn* (*lección*), *osidẽte* (*occidente*), *cojtrusi̯õn* (*construcción*), *dotor* (*doctor*).

2. But, *act* > *aut*[18] or *ait*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, and *ait* only, before *e*, *i*: *cõ(m)pauto* or *cõ(m)paito* (*compacto*), *esauto* or *esaito* (*exacto*), *caráiter* (*carácter*).

3. *ect*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, > *eit*, *et*, or *eut*:[19] *perfeito*, *perfeto*, or *perfeuto* (*perfecto*).

Sibilants

s (including *s* < *z* or *c*) is pronounced softly and is only slightly sibilant. At the end of a syllable, it usually becomes a soft aspirate, approximating to, but softer and less distinct than German *ch* in *ich*.[20] This sound is here represented by *j*,[21] although it is softer, and is pronounced somewhat farther

[18] By analogy with *aut* < *apt* (?).

[19] By analogy with *eut* < *ept* (?).

[20] This breathing is made so near the *s* position that an untrained ear would scarcely detect at first the difference between the breathing and the soft final SC *s*.

[21] I shall probably be criticized for using *j* to represent two sounds: (1) initial or intervocalic NM *j*, in *jũta* (*junta*), *jẽte* (*gente*), *ojo*, etc.; and (2) the indistinct front breathing that usually replaces *s* at the end of a syllable in NMS. And yet these two sounds probably differ no more than do the two *r*'s in *raro*.

front than even the soft, palatal NM *j*. In the final syllable of a breath group, and especially after *e*, this final *j* tends to vanish, as in *loj árbole(j)* [*los árboles*], *loj ejpañole(j)* [*los españoles*], *laj bonitaj muchacha(j)* [*las bonitas muchachas*], *dejpu̯é(j)* [*después*]. When initial or intervocalic, *s* sometimes becomes the regular NM *j*, as in *ji** (*si*), *nojotroj** (*nosotros*), *conoje** (*conoce*).

1. Initial and intervocalic *s* is usually a voiceless dental sibilant, softly pronounced: *siglo, casa, sapato* (*zapato*).

2. *s*, final in a syllable, usually becomes *j*, or vanishes altogether (see above): *detrá(j)* [*detrás*], *dejpu̯é(j)* [*después*], *paj* (*paz*), *conojco* (*conozco*), *mij cabayuj* (*mis caballos*), *nuejtraj bacaj* (*nuestras vacas*). SC *reloj, relojes* > NM *reloj, relose(j)*, by analogy with *nu̯ej, nu̯ese(j)* (*nuez, nueces*), etc.

3. But, before a voiced consonant, *s* usually becomes *z*. This sound is usually described by observers as equivalent to English *z* in *daze*; but in NMS I take it to be a voiced palatal aspirate, differing from the *j* of *dejpu̯é(j)* [*después*] only in that it is voiced: *loz mizmoj* (*los mismos*), *gu̯e(n)oz díaj* (*buenos días*), *loz gu̯eyij* (*los bueyes*), *dezde* (*desde*), *durazno* (*durazno*).

sh

sh is approximately equivalent to French *ch* in *chat*: it is made farther front than English *sh*. This sound is apparently due to Indian influence: *fashico*, 'negro'; *pũ(n)shi,** 'smoking tobacco'; *moshca** (often for *mosca*), etc.

ch

ch = SC *ch*: *muchacho*.

x

x = *s* (or *j* < *s*): *esauto* (*exacto*), *esamẽn* (*examen*), *ésito** (*éxito*), *ejperi̯ẽsi̯a* (*experiencia*).

Aspirates

j

j, and *g* + *e*, *i*, = a voiceless palatal spirant. NM *j* is made farther front than SC *j*, and it is pronounced more softly.

Note:

1. *f* > *j* in *ju̯ego* (*fuego*), *jogṍn* (*fogón*), etc.[22]
2. *s* > *j* in *nojotroj** (*nosotros*), *cõDujen* (*conducen*), *ji** (*si*), etc.
3. *h* > *j* in *jerbir** (*hervir*), *ju̯ir* (*huir*), etc.
4. *j* may be prefixed: *joso** (*oso*), etc.

h

h is usually mute, as in SC: *ora* (*hora*).

Note:

1. *hue-* > *gü̯e-*: *gü̯ebo* (*huevo*), *gü̯eso* (*hueso*), *gü̯erta* (*huerta*). After *N*, this *gü̯e* usually becomes *Gü̯e*: *ũN Gü̯eso* (*un hueso*), *ũN Gü̯ebo* (*un huevo*), etc.; but by analogy with *gü̯ẽ(n)o*, *ũ(m) Bu̯ẽ(n)o* (*un bueno*), etc., one hears not infrequently *ũ(m) Bu̯ebo** (*un huevo*), etc. Cf. *b* and *g*. By analogy with *hue-* > *gü̯e-*, we have *sirgü̯ela** (*ciruela*), etc.
2. In a few words, initial *h* > *j*: *jayar** (*hallar*), *jablar* (*hablar*), *jerbir** (*hervir*), *jõDo** (*hondo*), *ju̯ir** (*huir*), etc. One also hears *joso** (*oso*), etc.

Tongue-Trilled Consonants: *r* and *rr*

r = SC *r*: *rato, caro.*
rr = SC *rr*: *carro.*

[22] Some observers consider initial or intervocalic *j* < *f*, *s*, *h*, etc. (as in *jogõn*, *nojotroj*, *jõDo*, *joso*), different from the *j* of *jũta* (*junta*), *jẽte* (*gente*), etc., but I can detect no difference.

Note:

1. Final *r* is usually sharply trilled, and followed by a slight vocalic resonance due to the dying away of the trill: *tomar, comer, bibir* (*vivir*).

2. In southeastern Colorado one often hears an *e* postfixed to final *r*. Among New Mexicans living near La Junta, Colorado, I observed *e* postfixed to *n* and *l* also. These are some of the expressions noted: *pa cõsiguire la cosa* (*para conseguir la cosa*), *tú seráj el bẽsedore* (*tú serás el vencedor*), *tratãDu̯ é bere i u̯ire laj seremoniaj* (*tratando de ver y oír las ceremonias*), *no se parese e na a l'orijinale* (*no se parece en nada a lo original*), *sa carne ole male* (*esa carne huele mal*), *l' ejpañole ej máj fásil que l' alemane* (*el español es más fácil que el alemán*). There are many Italians in this region, and the final *e* may be due to their influence. Curiously, an *e* is similarly postfixed to final *r* in the modern Portuguese of Lisbon.

3. Sometimes *r* > *j* before *l*: *Cajloj** (*Carlos*), *pejla** (*perla*).

4. Intervocalic *r* sometimes falls (chiefly in *ara, ere*): *tomara, tomaraj*, etc., or *tomá,* tomáj*,[23] etc.; *comi̯era, comi̯eraj*, etc., or *comi̯ea,* comi̯eaj*, etc.; *tomarõn, tomãun*, or (rarely) *tomõn** (*tomaron*); *comi̯erõn* or *comi̯eõn*; *qui̯ero, qui̯erej*, etc., or *qui̯eu,* qui̯e(c)j*, etc.; *qui̯era*, etc., or *qui̯ea*, etc.; *mía* (*mira*; imperative); *ẽtía qu' ía tõto** (*parecía que era tonto*); *pa* (*para*); *peu* or (rarely) *po** (*pero*); etc.

5. The final *r* of infinitives falls before a postfixed personal pronoun with initial *l*: *p' aselo* (*para hacerlo*), *no qui̯eu cõ(m)pralo* (*no quiero comprarlo*). Note also *poque** (*porque*).

Spirant *y*

y (and *y* < *ll*) usually = SC *y*: *yeso, yã(n)o* (*llano*).

[23] *Tomá* (*tomara*) has back *a*, while *tomá* (*tomaba*) has front *a*.*

Note: Initial *y* tends to become a sound between the French *j* of *juge* and the English *j* of *judge*, as in *yo, yegu̯a, yerba, yũNque* (*yunque*).

Doubled Consonants

Doubled consonants are pronounced as one, as usually in SC: *ẽ na* (*en nada*), *e libro* (*el libro*), *lo sapatoj* (*los zapatos*), etc.

Orthography

Educated New Mexicans use the SC orthography; they do not use *i* for *y* and *j* for *g*, as do the Chileans. Ignorant New Mexicans, only slightly acquainted with letters, make amusing mistakes in spelling which are mostly due to the non-phonetic values of many SC letters when used to express NMS sounds.

The following were taken from letters and documents:

a verte visto (*haberte visto*)
baya (*vaya*)
ballamos (*vayamos*)
basayo (*vasallo*)
beo (*bello*)
berdad (*verdad*)
confucion (*confusión*)
combiene (*conviene*)
eseso (*exceso*)
hise (*hize*)
hollendo (*oyendo*)
llo (*yo*)
me nojare (*me enojaré*)
nabedad (*navedad*)
oya (*olla*)
relles (*reyes*)
ves (*vez*)

MORPHOLOGY

The inflectional structure of New-Mexican Spanish does not differ greatly from that of Standard Castilian. As one would expect, the most highly inflected part of speech, the verb, shows the greatest divergence. For the most part, only

those forms are given in the following notes that differ materially from their Standard Castilian equivalents.[24]

It must be borne in mind that the laws of NMS phonology obtain in all inflectional forms, whether the forms be given, or not given, in this article. Of especial importance are the rules governing *e* > *i*, *o* > *u*, and *s* > *j*, as in *si̯ õ(m)Bre* (*ese hombre*), *ti̯ ama* (*te ama*), *e libru̯ ej ĩNGléj* (*el libro es inglés*), *diju̯ él* (*dijo él*), etc.

Nouns and Adjectives

Nouns and adjectives form the feminine and plural as in SC, except that words ending in *j* (< *s*) form the plural in *se*(*j*) or *je*(*j*): *nu̯ej*, *nu̯ese*(*j*) or *nu̯eje*(*j*) [*nuez*, *nueces*]. Note also: *lei*, *leij** or *leyij* (*ley*, *leyes*); *cai** or *cayi*, *caij** or *cayij* (*calle*, *calles*).

Articles

The definite article is: *el*, *l*; *la*, *l'*; *loj*, *l'j*; *laj*, *l'j*; *lo*, *l'*.

1. Before or after a vowel, *el* > *l*: *l õ(m)Bre*, to *l Día*, *dijo l niñu*.

2. Before a vowel, *la*, *lo*, > *l'*: *l'ermã́*, *l' orijinal*.

3. After a vowel, *loj*, *laj*, > (sometimes) *l'j*: *pa l'j chicoj*.

Note:

a + *el* > *al*, as in SC.

de + *el* > *del*, as in SC.

con + *el* > *cõel** or *cõl*:* *cõ*(*e*)*l õ*(*m*)*Bre*, *cõ*(*e*)*l cabayu*.

en + *el* > *ẽel*,* *ẽl*,* or *nel*: *ẽ*(*e*)*l ríu* or *nel ríu*.

para + *el* > *pal*: *pal tíu*, *pal amiricã*(*n*)*o*.

The indefinite article is *un*; *una*, *un'*.

un' occurs before a vowel, *una* before a consonant: *un' ora*, *una niña*.

[24] When two or more forms are given, the commoner is given first.

Note:

a + *un* > *ãn*;* *de* + *un* > *di ũn*; *con* + *un* > *cũn** or *cõn*;* *para* + *un* > *pũn** or *pãn*.*

Personal Pronouns

In NMS there is no personal pronoun of the second person plural: *ojtedej* is the plural of both *tú* and *ojté*.

Singular

	Nominative	Dative	Accusative	Prepositional
1.	*yo*	*me, m'*	*me, m'*	*mí*
2.	*tú, t'*	*te, t'*	*te, t'*	*ti*
3.	*él, l*	*le, l'*	*lo, l'*	*él*
	ea[25]	*(le), la, l'*	*la, l'*	*ea*[25]
		se, s'	*se, s'*	*sí*
	eu[25]		*lo*	*eu*[25]
	ojté (ujté)	*le, la, l'*	*lo, la, l'*	*ojté (ujté)*

Plural

	Nominative	Dative	Accusative	Prepositional
1.	*nosotroj* or *nojotroj*	*noj,*[26] *n'j*	*noj, n'j*	*nosotroj* or *nojotroj*
2.	———	———	———	———
3.	*euj*[25]	*lej, l'j*	*loj, l'j*	*euj*[25]
	eaj[25]	*(lej), laj, l'j*	*laj, l'j*	*eaj*[25]
		se, s'	*se, s'*	*sí*
	ojtedej (ujtedej)	*lej, laj, l'j*	*loj, laj, l'j*	*ojtedej (ujtedej)*

[25] Or *eya, eyaj, eyuj, eyu.*

[26] In popular New-Mexican Spanish *loj, laj, lej,* or *se* (= *lej*), often replace *noj*. Thus *loj be* may mean "he sees them," or "you," or "us." Note the analogous forms: *loj be a euj,* "he sees them"; *loj be a ujtedej,* "he sees you"; *loj be a nosotroj,* "he sees us." Note also *se lo (d)iju a nosotroj,* "he told us so," etc. This usage is widespread, but not universal. In this connection it should be noted that the feminine form *nosotraj* is rare; like other pronouns of the first and second persons, *nosotroj* does not distinguish gender.

Note:

1. *l'*, *m'*, *t'*, *s'*, are common before or after a vowel: *¿õ jtá l? yo l' beigo, me l'a dichu.*

2. After a vowel, *n'j* and *l'j* may occur: *no n'j quie(e), yo l'j digo.*

3. *ojté* and *ojtedej* are common at the beginning of a sentence; after *a*, they may become *ujté*, *ujtedej*, the *a* and *u* forming a diphthong: *¿ojté l' crei? ¿cómo jtá ujté? pa ujté* or *p' ojté, cõ 'jté.*

Possessive

Pronouns: *el míu*; *el tuyu*; *el nuejtro*; *el suyu, d'él.*

Adjectives: *mi, m'*; *tu, t'*; *nuejtr(o)*; *su, s'*. Before a vowel, *m'*, *t'*, and *s'* are common forms. After a vowel, *mi* often becomes *m'*: *pa m' tíu,* a (m') papá.**

Demonstratives

Pronouns: *(é)jte, (é)se, (a)quél* [*(a)quéa,* etc.]. The initial vowel may fall after a vowel: *no creu 'so.*

Adjectives: *'jte, te*; *se*; *quel* (*quiá* or *quea,* etc.).

Note: *'jte* is common after a vowel, and *te* in other positions: *pa 'jti õ(m)Bre, ti õ(m)Br' ej mijicã(n)o, sa niña, cõ quiá mujer.*

Some Other Adjective-Pronouns

1. *Nadiẽn* or *naide* = *nadie.*

2. *Mũ(n)chu* = *mucho.*

3. In certain expressions, *tuí** (or *ti*) = *todo y*: *cõ tuí la familia,** "family and all"; *cõ ti la berdura,* or (more explicitly) *cõ tuitaj claj'e berdura,** "with all sorts of vegetables."

4. *Mezmo* = *mismo.*

5. Before *riale(j), libraj,* etc., *dos, tres, seis,* and *diez,* become *do, tre, se,* and *die.*

6. Between 16 and 19, *dij* = *diez*: *dij i seij*, etc.

7. *Sẹtesiẽtoj* and *nụebesiẽtoj* = *setecientos* and *novecientos*; and *siẽn* may replace *siẽto* in any position.

Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions

a or *ayá* (*allá*), *ai* (*ahí*), *ãDõDe* (*en donde*), *ãtõsej* (*entonces*), *asiá* (*hacia a* = *hacia*), *asigún* (*a según*), *ca* (*acá*), *a causé* (*a causa de*), *cụasi* (*casi*), *ejpasịo* (*despacio*), *ẽNcõtré* (*en contra de*), *murre** (*muy re-*[27]), *no máj*, "as soon as," "not even," *õDe* or *õ*(*n*) (*donde*), *ójala* (*ojalá*), *õnque* or *ãnque* (*aunque*), *ora* (*ahora*), *pa* (*para*), *peu* (*pero*), *puj* or *poj* (*pues*), *poque** (*porque*), *qui* (*aquí*), *tamiẽn* (*también*), *tãnre* or *tãrre** (*tan re-*[27]), etc.

Verbs

The following changes have occurred in all verbs, whether regular or irregular:[28]

1. Verbs of the third conjugation are inflected throughout (except in the infinitive) like verbs of the second conjugation. Thus, the present indicative, first person plural, of *abrir* is *abremoj*. This enables the speaker to distinguish the present from the preterite [cf. *abremoj* (pres.) and *abrimoj* (pret.)].

2. Two tenses are lost, viz., the past subjunctive in *-se* and the hypothetical or future subjunctive in *-re*.

3. The second person plural of all verbs is lost, and its place is taken by the third person with *ojtedej* (*ustedes*).

4. The ending *-moj* becomes *-noj*, whenever the stress falls on the antepenult: *tomá*(*b*)*anoj* (*tomábamos*), *tomá-*

[27] The *re-* is the intensive prefix.

[28] Whenever, in this article, it is said that a verb is inflected as in SC, it is meant that the inflection is the same in NMS as in SC, except for these regularly occurring changes, which are common to all NMS verbs.

(r)anoj (*tomáramos*), *tomaríanoj* (*tomaríamos*), *tómenoj* (*tomemos*).

5. In the present subjunctive, first person plural, the stress falls on the antepenult: *tómenoj* (*tomemos*), *ábranoj* (*abramos*), *si̯ẽtanoj* (*sintamos*). This form is not used as an imperative, its place being taken by *(b)amoj a* + infinitive: *(b)ámonoj a sẽtar* (*sentémonos*), *no se lo (b)amoj a disir* (*no se lo digamos*).[29]

6. The preterite, second person singular, ends in *-tej* (*-ste*): *tomatej* (*tomaste*), *comitej* (*comiste*).

Regular Verbs

First Conjugation: *tomar*

tomar, tomãDo, tomáu.

Pres. Ind.: *tomo, tomaj, toma, tomamoj, tomãn.*

Pres. Subj.: *tome, tomej, tome, tómenoj, tomẽn.*

Imperat.: *toma.*

Imperf.: *toma(b)a, toma(b)aj, toma(b)a, tomá(b)anoj, toma(b)ãn.*

Pret.: *tomé, tomatej, tomó, tomamoj, toma(r)õn.*

Past Subj.: *toma(r)a, toma(r)aj, toma(r)a, tomá(r)anoj, toma(r)ãn.*

Fut. Ind.: *tomaré, tomaráj, tomará, tomaremoj, tomarã̃n.*

Cond. Ind.: *tomaría, tomaríaj, tomaría, tomaríanoj, tomaríãn.*

Note the following:

Pasi̯ar (*pasear*).

pasi̯ar, pasi̯ãDo, pasi̯áu.

Pres. Ind.: *paséu,*[30] *paseaj, pasea, pasi̯amoj, paseãn.*

[29] The only imperative (or subjunctive used as an imperative) of the first person plural in NMS is *(b)amoj* or *(b)ámonoj*. The suffix *-noj* in *tómenoj*, etc., seems to be by analogy to *(b)ámonoj*.

[30] Less commonly, *paseyu, paseyaj*, etc.; *cã(m)Beyu, cã(m)Beyaj*, etc.

Pres. Subj.: *pasḙi, paséij, pasḙi, paséinoj, paséĩn.*

Imperat.: *pasea.*

All other forms have the stem *pasi-*. Thus, all regular verbs in *-i̯ar* (*-car*). By analogy, verbs with dissyllabic stems, that have *-iar* in SC, are inflected like *pasi̯ar*: e.g., *cã(m)Bi̯ar* (*cambiar*): Pres. Ind., *cãmBéu*,[30] *cã(m)Beaj*, etc., (but *fíu, cõ(n)fíu*, etc.).

Second Conjugation: *comer*

comer, comi̯ẽDo, comido.

Pres. Ind.: *como, comej, come, comemoj, comẽn.*

Pres. Subj.: *coma, comaj, coma, cómanoj, comãn.*

Imperat.: *come.*

Imperf.: *comía, comíaj, comía, comíanoj, comíãn.*

Pret.: *comí, comitej, comi̯ó, comimoj, comi̯e(r)õn.*

Past Subj.: *comi̯e(r)a, comi̯e(r)aj, comi̯e(r)a, comi̯é(r)anoj, comi̯e(r)ãn.*

Fut. Ind.: *comeré, comeráj, comerá, comeremoj, comerã́n.*

Cond. Ind.: *comería, comeríaj, comería, comeríanoj, comeríãn.*

Third Conjugation: *bibir* (*vivir*)

Pres. Ind.: *bibo, bibej, bibe, bibemoj, bibẽn.*

Etc., as in the Second Conjugation.

Verbs with Inceptive Endings

Conoser (*conocer*)

conoser, conosi̯ẽDo, conosido.

Pres. Ind.: *conojco, conosej, conose, conosemoj, conosẽn.*

Pres. Subj.: *conojca, conojcaj, conojca, conójcanoj, conojcãn.*

Etc.

Note: The stem *conos-* tends to become *conoj-* throughout the inflection of the verb, by analogy to *conojco, conojca,* etc.

Radical-Changing Verbs

First Class: (1) *Perder*

perder, perdi̯ẽDo, perdido.
Pres. Ind.: *pi̯erdo, pi̯erdej, pi̯erde, perdemoj, pi̯erdẽn.*
Pres. Subj.: *pi̯erda, pi̯erdaj, pi̯erda, pi̯érdanoj, pi̯erdãn.*
Imperat.: *pi̯erde.*
Etc.

(2) *Morder*

morder, mordi̯ẽDo, mordido.
Pres. Ind.: *mu̯erdo, mu̯erdej, mu̯erde, mordemoj, mu̯erdẽn.*
Pres. Subj.: *mu̯erda, mu̯erdaj, mu̯erda, mu̯érdanoj, mu̯erdãn.*
Imperat.: *mu̯erde.*
Etc.
Note: *oler* is inflected as follows:
oler, oli̯ẽDo, olido.
Pres. Ind.: { *olo, olej, ole, olemoj, olẽn.* / *gu̯elo, gu̯elej, gu̯ele, olemoj, gu̯elẽn.*[31]
Pres. Subj.: { *ola, olaj, ola, ólanoj, olãn.* / *gu̯ela, gu̯elaj, gu̯ela, gu̯élanoj, gu̯elãn.*
Imperat.: *ole* or *gu̯ele.*
Etc.

Second Class: (1) *S̈itir* (*sentir*)

s̈itir, s̈iti̯ẽDo, s̈itido.
Pres. Ind.: *si̯ẽto, si̯ẽtej, si̯ẽte, s̈itemoj, si̯ẽtẽn.*
Pres. Subj.: *si̯ẽta, si̯ẽtaj, si̯ẽta, si̯ẽtanoj, si̯ẽtãn.*

[31] Whenever two forms are given, the commoner is given first.

Imperat.: *si̯ẽte.*

Pret.: *sĩ̇tí, sĩ̇titej, sĩ̇ti̯ó, sĩ̇timoj, sĩ̇ti̯erõn.*

Etc.

Note: Throughout the inflection of these verbs, the stem vowel is *i* when unstressed.

(2) *Durmir*

durmir, durmi̯ẽDo, durmido.

Pres. Ind.: *du̯ermo, du̯ermej, du̯erme, durmemoj, du̯ermẽn.*

Pres. Subj.: *du̯erma, du̯ermaj, du̯erma, du̯érmanoj, du̯ermãn.*

Imperat.: *du̯erme.*

Pret.: *durmí, durmitej, durmi̯ó, durmimoj, durmi̯erõn.*

Etc.

Note: Both *durmir* and *murir* have the stem vowel *u* throughout, when the stem is not stressed.

THIRD CLASS: *Siguir* (*seguir*)

siguir, sigui̯ẽDo, siguido.

Pres. Ind.: *sigo, siguej, sigue, siguemoj, siguẽn.*

Pres. Subj.: *siga, sigaj, siga, síganoj, sigãn.*

Imperat.: *sigue.*

Pret.: *siguí, siguitej, sigui̯ó, siguimoj, sigui̯erõn.*

Etc.

Note: All verbs of this class have the stem vowel *i* throughout their inflection.

Note: *ri̯ir* or *rir* (*reír*) is inflected as follows:

ri̯ir or *rir, ri̯ẽDo, ri̯ido* or *rido.*

Pres. Ind.: *ríu, rí(i)j, rí(i), ri̯emoj, rĩ́(ĩ)n.*

Pres. Subj.: *ría, ríaj, ría, ríanoj, riãn.*

Imperat.: *rí(i).*

Imperf.: *ría* or *ri̯ía*, etc.

Pret.: *rí, ritej, ri̯ó, rimoj, ri̯erõn.*

-U̯ir Verbs

dejtribu̯ir (*distribuir*).
dejtribu̯ir, dejtribuyẽDo or *dejtribu̯ẽDo, dejtribu̯ido.*
Pres. Ind.: *dejtrib-uyu, -u(y)ij, -uyi, -u̯(y)emoj, -u(y)i̯n.*
Pres. Subj.: *dejtrib-uya, -uyaj, -uya, -úyanoj, -uyãn.*
Imperat.: *dejtribu(y)i.*
Pret.: { *dejtrib-u̯í, -u̯itej, -uyó, -u̯imoj, -uërõn.** / *dejtrib-uyí, -uyitej, -uyó, -uyimoj, -uyerõn.* }
Note: *ju̯ir** (*huir*) is inflected differently from the other *-u̯ir* verbs, in that it has *júigo** in the present indicative, first person singular, and *júiga, júigaj,* etc., in the present subjunctive.

Irregular Verbs

Ser

ser, si̯ẽDo, sido.
Pres. Ind.: { *soi*[32] / *so* / *ero** } *erej, ej, semos, sõn.*
Pres. Subj.: *sia,** etc., or *sea,*[33] etc.
Pret.: *ju̯í, ju̯itej, ju̯é, ju̯imoj, ju̯erõn.*
Etc.

Aber (*haber*)

aber, abi̯ẽDo, abido.
Pres. Ind.: *a, aj, a, amoj, ãn,* or *e, aj, a, emoj, ãn.*
Pres. Subj.: *aiga, aigaj, aiga, áiganoj, aigãn.*
Pret.: *u(b)e, u(b)itej, u(b)o, u(b)imoj, u(b)i̯erõn.*
Etc.

[32] *so, 'jto* or *to, do,* and *bo* (for *soy, estoy, doy,* and *voy*) are common in southeastern Colorado.

[33] Less commonly, *seya,* etc.

Ejtar (estar)

ejtar, ejtãDo, ejtáu.

Pres. Ind.: *ejtoi* or *ejtó, ejtáj, ejtá, ejtamoj, ejtắn.*

Pres. Subj.: *ejté, ejtéj, ejté, ejtemoj, ejtẽn.*

Pret.: *ejtu(b)e, ejtu(b)itej, ejtu(b)o, ejtu(b)imoj, ejtu(b)i̯erõn.*

Etc.

Note: After a vowel, or *l, n, r, ejtar* usually becomes *'jtar*; at the beginning of a breath-group, it may become *tar*; cf. *¿õ jtá?—él 'jtá qui; él no 'jtá qui; ta gu̯ẽ(n)o.*

Tener

tener, teni̯ẽDo, tenido.

Pres. Ind.: *tẽNGo, ti̯ẽ(ne)j, ti̯ẽ(ne), tenemoj, ti̯ẽ(nẽ)n.*

Pres. Subj.: *tẽNGa, tẽNGaj, tẽNGa, tẽNGanoj, tẽNGãn.*

Imperat.: *tẽn.*

Pret.: *tu(b)e, tu(b)itej, tu(b)o, tu(b)imoj, tu(b)i̯erõn.*

Etc.

ĀDar (andar)

ĀDar is usually inflected as in SC, but it may be regular throughout (i.e., Pret.: *ãDé, ãdatej, ãDó*, etc.*).

Dar

As in SC, (except that both *doi* and *do* [*doy*] occur), but the initial *d* often falls, except after *l* or *n*: *ame,* mi̯ a,* m' i̯o,* él Da, cõ Darlo.*

Quirer (*querer*)

quirer, quiri̯ẽDo, quirido.

Pres. Ind.: { *qui̯e(r)o, qui̯e(r)ej, qui̯e(r)e, quiremoj, qui̯e(r)ẽn.* / *qui̯ó, qui̯éj, qui̯é, qui̯emoj, qui̯ẽn.* }

Pres. Subj.: { *quie(r)a, quie(r)aj, quie(r)a, quié(r)anoj, quie(r)ãn.* / *quiá, quiáj, quiá, quiéanoj, quiãn.* }

Fut: *quedré*, etc.; or, *querré*, etc.

Pu(d)er (poder)

pu(d)er, pu(d)iẽDo, pu(d)ido.

Pres. Ind.: *pue(d)o, pue(de)j, pue(de), pu(d)emoj, pue(dẽ)n.*

Pres. Subj.: *pue(d)a, pue(d)aj, pue(d)a, pué(d)anoj, pue(d)ãn.*

Fut.: *podré*, etc.; or, *porré*, etc.

Etc.

Caber, saber, and *aser (hacer)*, as in SC.

Ir

Pres. Ind.: *boi* or *bo, baj, ba, (b)amoj, bãn.*

Pres. Subj.: *ba, baj, ba, bamoj, bãn;* or *baya, bayaj, baya, báyanoj, bayãn.*

Pret.: *jui, juitej, jué, juimoj, juerõn.*

Etc.

Note: *(b)amoj a + infinitive* is used to form imperatives: *(b)amoj aselo (hagámoslo).*

Binir (venir)

binir, biniẽDo, binido.

Pres. Ind.: *bẽNGo, biẽ(ne)j, biẽ(ne), binemoj, biẽ(nẽ)n.*

Etc.

Poner, asir, baler (valer), and *salir*, as in SC.

Cai(r), cayer, or *quer* (caer)*

cai(r),[34] *cayer,* or *quer, cayẽDo, cai(d)o* or *cayido.*

[34] *Cai(r)* and *trai(r)* [the *r** usually falls in these two infinitives] are the common forms.

Pres. Ind.: *caigo, caij, cai, caimoj* or *caycmoj, caĩn.*
Imperf.: *caiba,* etc.; or, *cayía,* etc.
Pret.: *cayí, cayitej, cayó, cayimoj, cayerõn.*
Fut.: *cairé,* etc.

Oyer or *u̯ir* (*oír*)

oyer or *u̯ir, oyẽDo, u̯ido* or *oyido.*
Pres. Ind.: *oigo, o(y)ij, o(y)i, oyemoj* or *oimoj, o(y)ĩn.*
Imperf.: *oyía,* etc., or, *u̯ia,* etc.
Pret.: { *oyí, oyitej, oyó, oyimoj, oyerõn.* / *u̯í, u̯itej, oyó, u̯imoj, oyerõn.*
Fut.: *oyeré,* etc.; or, *oiré,* etc.

Trai(r), trayer, or *trer* (traer)*

trai(r), trayer or *trer, trayẽDo, trai(d)o* or *trayido.*
Pres. Ind.: *traigo, traij, trai, traimoj* or *trayemoj, traĩn.*
Imperf.: *traiba,* etc.; or, *trayía,* etc.
Pret.: *truje, trujitej, trujo, trujimoj, trujerõn*; or, *traje,* etc.
Fut.: *trairé,* etc.

CõDusir (*conducir*)

As in SC, except (1) that the stem tends to become *cõDuj-* throughout, by analogy to *cõDujco, cõDujca,* etc., and *cõDuje,* etc.; and (2) that the Preterite, third person plural, is usually *cõDuji̯erõn* (also, *cõDuji̯era,* etc.).

Disir (*decir*)

disir, disi̯ẽDo, dichu.
Pres. Ind.: *digo, disej, dise, disemoj, disẽn.*
Pret.: *dije, dijitej, dijo, dijimoj, dijerõn* or *dji̯erõn.*
Etc.
Note: The stem *dis-* tends to become *dij-,** by analogy to *dije,* etc.

Ber (ver)

ber, bi̯ẽDo, bijto.

Pres. Ind.: { *beigo** / *beu*[35] } *bej, be, bemoj, bẽn.*

Pres. Subj.: *beiga,* etc.; or *bea,*[35] etc.

Imperf.: *bía,* etc.; or, *bi̯ía,* etc.

Pret.: *bí* or *bide, bitej, bi̯ó* or *bido, bimoj, bi̯erõn.*

Etc.

Expressions

In this article no attempt has been made to study NMS syntax, but a few common expressions are here given:

asẽn (for *ase*) *s̈iNco añuj,* etc.

¿qui̯ oraj sõn? (for *¿qué hora es?*)

(ej)tá (for *ase*) *fríu, caliẽte,* etc.

(ej)toi bi̯ẽn (for *tẽNGo rasõn*).

(ej)toi mal (for *no tẽNGo rasõn*).

(ej)toi su̯eñoso (for *tẽNGo su̯eño*).

The last four, and similar expressions, occur rarely, and chiefly where English is also spoken. There also, *ejtar* tends to replace *aber* in the sense of 'there . . . . to be,' as in *no 'jtaban(abía) máj (d)e trej.*

In a condition "contrary to fact," the Imperfect Indicative may occur in either the condition or the conclusion, as in *ji tuyera el ti̯ẽ(m)po, lu̯ asía* or *ji tenía el ti̯e(m)po, lu̯ asía; ji̯ abía ẽtẽdido, uyera preferido;* etc. Note also this use of the conditional: *tomaría yo nu̯ aberte conosido,* "I wish that I had never known you"; *¿tomarianoj el trẽn local?*— "shall we take the local train?"

VOCABULARY

Before giving a general list of NMS words, a few expressions are given to illustrate (1) how, to express a given

[35] Less commonly, *beyu; beya, beyaj,* etc.

idea, the regular Spanish word may be replaced by one that corresponds in sound with its English equivalent, and (2) how Spanish words and phrases may be made to give expression to American institutions:

1. *arribar*, to arrive (*llegar* more common)
   carta enregistrada, registered letter
   concilio de suidá (*ciudad*), town council (also *ayuntamiento*)
   coronario, coroner
   ingenio, engine
   mayor, mayor (of a town)
   talla, railway tie
2. *alguacil*, sheriff
   a prueba de lumbre, fire-proof
   billete por viaje redondo, round-trip ticket
   boleto, (political) ticket
   casa de cortes, court house
   entrada de domicilio, homestead entry
   gavilla, political ring
   junta en masa, mass meeting
   mariscal, (village) marshal
   orden de estafeta, postoffice money order
   paradero colectivo, union railway station

The following is a list of some NMS words in common use. In this list I have attempted to give only those words that differ (1) in meaning or (2) in form (not including those that differ in form according to regular phonetic laws) from their SC equivalents.[36] The list is far from complete. The words are spelled according to the rules of SC orthog-

[36] In a few cases I have given words that have the same meaning in NMS and in SC, (1) if the word is common in NMS and rare in SC (cf. *rasurar*), or (2) if it has in NMS a secondary meaning that does not exist in SC (cf. *caldear*).

raphy. If the English equivalent is not given, the word has the same meaning in NMS as in SC.

a,* *ayá* = *allá*
abarrotero, m., grocer
abarrotes, m. pl., groceries
abrigos, m. pl., underwear (*abrigo*, wrap, as in SC)
abuja = *aguja*
abujero = *agujero*
agarrar, to catch, take (*coger*, rare); — *el tren*, to catch the train
agüelo,* m., bugbear
aigre = *aire*
aigro = *agrio*
álamo, m., cottonwood tree
alguacil, m., (county) sheriff
alguacilato, m., office of sheriff
almario = *armario*
almendra, f. (any sort of) nut (cf. *nuez*)
amachada, f., balking, resistance
amacharse, to balk
amachón, *-ona*, balky
amargoso = *amargo*
amarrar,[37] to tie (cf. *atar*)
*ancina** = *encina*, f., scrub oak
¡ándale! hurry up!
anque, *onque* = *aunque*
*antonces** = *entonces*
*antusiasmo** = *entusiasmo*
apriesa = *aprisa*
arbolera (< *arboleda*), f., orchard, grove
ardilla, f., chipmunk
arrempujar = *empujar*

[37] Also in Colombia (Bransby).

arribar, to arrive (also *llegar*)
a según = *según*
aserrón, m., cross-cut saw
asistir, to feed
asistencia:[37] *lar la* —, to give board
*asé ya sau** (< *así y asado*? or *así y a ese lado*?), this way and that
atajo, m., train or drove of (pack) animals
atarque, m., dam (to obstruct flow of water in ditch)
atarse, to be embarrassed, dazed
atole,* m., fluid Indian corn mush, sweetened
aveno, m. = *avena*, f.[38]
azúcar(a)*, f. = *azúcar*, m.
balear, to wound by shooting
bandeja, f. (dish-) pan
bandejita, f., metal cup
bate (< Eng.), m., bat
berendo, m., antelope
betabel, m., beet
bisbal (< Eng.), m., baseball
blanquillo, m., egg (rare: *huevo* is common)
bofes, m. pl., lungs
bogue (< Eng.), m., "buggy," carriage
bolsa, f., pocket
bolsita, f., pocket book
boquinete, m., "sucker" (a fish)
bota, f., leather legging (also "boot," as in SC)
bronco, m., wild, unbroken or poorly broken horse
*ca** = *acá*
caballada, f., large drove of horses
caballerango, m., boy that has charge of cowboys' horses during a "round-up," good horseman

[38] It has been suggested that *aveno* is by analogy to *heno*, but *heno* is unknown in NMS.

cabrestante (< *cabestrante*), m., small rope, halter strap (also *látigo*)
cabrestear = *cabestrear*
cabresto (< *cabestro*), m., (general name for) rope
cai(r), *cayer*, or *quer**[39] = *caer*: — *agua*, to rain (also *llover*)
cajero, m., clerk (in shop)
cajete, m., wash-tub
calabaza, f., pumpkin; — *larga*, squash
caldear, to heat (as in SC), flirt
caldero, m., flirt
caldo,* m., soup
calor, f. = *calor*, m.
calzones, m. pl., trousers; — *de lona*, overalls
camalta (< *cama alta*?), f., bedstead
camaltilla, f., couch
cantina, f., barroom
capulín, m., choke cherry
carpa, f., tent (also *tenta*)
cartera, f., envelope (*sobre* rare)
carro, m., wagon, (railway) coach (also *coche*)
carroza, f., street car (also *tranvía*)
casa de palos, f., log house
*Caslos** = *Carlos*
cavador, m., hoe (*azada* and *coa* rare)
cerco, m. = *cerca*, f., fence
cíbolo, m., buffalo
cincho, m. = *cincha*, f., saddle-girth
cobija,[39] f., bed cover
cócono,[40] m., turkey (also *ganso* or *gallina de la tierra*)

[39] Also in Colombia (Bransby).

[40] The turkey has many names in American Spanish. I have noted: *guanajo* (Cuba), *guajalote* (central and southern Mexico), *cócono* (northern Mexico

codo de dedo, m., knuckle
coger, to catch (less common than *agarrar* and *pescar*, but not to be avoided as in Mexico)
coleo, m., cowboys' sport of catching steers by the tail and throwing them
colorido,* *-a*, red (*colorado* more common); *Colorido*, m., State of Colorado
compá = *compadre*
comprender, to hire (a servant)
concilio, m., (town) council
coronario, m., coroner
cotensio, m., canvass
cotón, m., "jumper" (kind of coat), woman's jacket
cuadrar, to please (more common than *gustar*)
cuartón, m., saw log
cuartonero, m., logger
cuasi = *casi*
cuates, m. pl., twins
cubeta, f., bucket, pail
cute (< Eng.?), m., overcoat
cutereano, m.: *a él le dió cute y a mí cutereano*, "I got the worst of it"
chamizo, m., sage brush
chapa,[39] f., door lock
chaparreras, f. pl., "chaps," cowboys' leggings
chapero,* m., old, worn-out hat
chapulín, m., grasshopper
charola, f., bake pan, vegetable dish, tray
charro, m., native Mexican costume
charro, *-a*, gallant, handsome
chico, *-a*, small, as in SC (*pequeño* rare)

and New Mexico), *gallina de la tierra* (New Mexico and Colorado); *ganso** (Colorado), *pisco* (Colombia, Bransby).

chicote, m., whip
chiflón, m., stove pipe, lamp chimney
chinelas, f. pl., slippers, as in SC (*pantuflos* and *zapatillas* rare)
chiquite, m., chewing gum
chirinola, f., quarrel, row
chopo, -a, short (referring to persons)
chulo, m., pug dog
chulo, -a, well-formed, well-dressed, pretty
chupa, f., jacket
chupilote, m., buzzard
denero = *dinero*
*descoger** = *escoger*
deshojar, to husk Indian corn
desparramar, to spill (*derramar* rare)
*destornudar** = *estornudar*
doctor, m., physician (*médico* rare)
dona, f., gift
drogas, f. pl., debts: *hacer* — to cheat
durazno, m., peach, as in SC (*melocotón* rare)
efectos secos, m. pl., drygoods
elote, or *elolote,** m., ear of green Indian corn
*embutido,** m., embroidery
*embutir,** to embroider
encontra de = *contra*
entarime, m., board floor; — *de calle,* board walk
enter, to seem
entrada de domicilio, f., homestead entry
escalereado, m., stairway
escarbar, to dig (a ditch, etc.)
escrebir = *escribir*
eslique (< Eng.), m., "slicker"
espacio = *despacio*
espauda, f., baking powder (from Eng. "powder"?)

espinilla,[41] f., pimple
estampa (*de estafeta* or *de correo*), f., postage stamp
estecle (< Eng.), m., beefsteak
estufa, f., stove; — *de cocina,* kitchen stove; — *de cuarto,* heating stove
falda, f., brim (of hat)
fandango, m., (general name for) dance (also *baile*)
fashico, m., negro
feria, f., change (more common than *cambio*)
fiero,[41] *-a,* homely, ugly (more common than *feo*)
fierro, m., iron, cattle brand (*hierro* rare)
físico, -a, foolish
fistol, m., (large) pin (also *alfiler*)
fletero, m., freighter
flor, f., wheat flour (but *harina de maíz*)
florear, to grind flour; *máquina de* —, flour mill
fogón, m., fireplace, furnace
fregandera, f., dishwasher
frezada[41] = *frazada*
*frir** = *freír*
fuella = *huella*
gachupín, m., Spaniard
galón, m., English gallon
galopear = *galopar*
gallina de la tierra, f., (wild) turkey
*ganso,** m., (wild) turkey (Colo.), goose
gegén,[41] m., mosquito
*gogote** = *cocote*
grandotote,[41] *-a,* very large or tall
gringo,[42] m., Yankee

[41] Also in Colombia (Bransby).

[42] The dictionary of the Spanish Academy gives *gringo* < *griego.* I have heard Mexicans say that it comes from the song "Green grows the shamrock," sung upon a certain occasion by a company of Irishmen on the Gulf coast of Mexico. This explanation is most unlikely.

guajalote, m., water dog
guargüero (< *gargüero*), m., neck
güisque (< Eng.), m., whiskey
hacia a = *hacia*
hijadero (< *ahijadero*), m.: *tiempo de* —, lambing time
hora[43] = *ahora*
horquilla, f., pitchfork (as in SC), "hames" (part of horse's harness)
hortaliza, f., vegetable garden
hueja, f., gourd, dipper; — *de pipa,* pipe bowl
*huerito,** *-a,* dear, beloved
*huero,** *-a,* fair, blond, Yankee
huevón,[43] *-ona,* lazy (vulgar)
ijotes, or *igotes,** m. pl., string beans (cf. Mex. *ejotes*)
ingenio, m., engine (*máquina* rare)
*ingüento** = *ungüento*
*íntico** = *idéntico*
ivierno = *invierno*
jablar = *hablar*
*jallar** = *hallar*
*jancharse,** to find
jerga, f., home-spun rug, carpet
*jervir**[43] = *hervir*
jolas, f. pl., money (*denero* more common)
jololote, m., Indian corn husk
*jondo**[43] = *hondo*
*joso** = *oso*
*juir**[43] = *huir*
jumate, m., dipper
lamber[43] = *lamer*
látigo, m., leather, or horsehair, strap, especially the one to which the girth is fastened

[43] Also in Colombia (Bransby).

*lavador,** m., washboard
leche nevada, f., ice cream (also *helados*)
lechón, m., milkweed
*letía** or *aletía,* f., shirt bosom
leva, f., man's coat
levetón, m., small overcoat
levita, f., boy's coat
leyer = *leer*
liebre, f., jack rabbit
*luvia,** f., freshet
ma grande, f., grandmother (also *abuela*)
maleta, f., pocket book (also hand bag, as in SC)
mancuernilla: — *de puños,* cuff button
manea, f., brake; — *de carro,* wagon brake
mano,[43] *-a,* m. and f., brother, sister; also friendly term of address to an inferior:* *mano Julio, mana Concha,* etc.
manteca, f., lard (only)
mantequilla,[43] f., butter
maque, m., (house) paint
maquear, to paint
marchante, m., customer (*parroquiano* rare)
mariscal, m., (town) marshal
martigón (< *almartigón*), m., leather headstall or halter
mashishe, m., imp
mayor, m., mayor (of a town)
mecate, m., string, strip of cloth; — *de zapato,* shoe string
medio color: *de* — —, pink
mero,[43] *-a,* same; *el merito lugar,* the same place; *ya mero no dilata,* it will not be long before he comes
mesmo[43] = *mismo*
mesteño, -a, wild, untamed
mestro = *maestro*
metate, m., Indian mill for grinding corn
meter: *el sol se mete,* the sun sets (*se pone* rare)

metida del sol, f., sunset
montera, f., sunbonnet
mosquito, m., gnat
mostro = *monstruo*
mulera, f., bell mule
muncho = *mucho*
murre = *muy re-* (intensive prefix)
musharaña (< *musaraña*), f., face made by a child in quarreling
musho, -a, pugnosed
naide[44] or *nadien* = *nadie*
naguas[44] = *enaguas*
nanito, -a (< *nana*), dear, beloved
navaja: — *de bolsa,* pocket knife; — *de barba,* razor (as in SC)
no más,[44] as soon as, not even
noria, f., well of water (never *pozo*)
nuez, f., nutmeg (cf. *almendra*)
ñudo[44] = *nudo*
ójala[44] = *ojalá*
*ololote,** m., Indian corn cob
olla de hervir, f., pot, kettle
õ(n) or *onde* = *donde*
orden de estafeta, m., postoffice money order
oriente, m., east, as in SC (*este* rare)
oshá, f., medicinal root used for cramps and colic
*¡ote!** come here!
oyer or *uir** = *oír*
pa[44] = *para*
pader = *pared*
pa grande, m., grandfather (also *abuelo*)
*paila,** f., washboard
palomita, f., butterfly (*mariposa* rare)

[44] Also in Colombia (Bransby).

pandito, -a, vain, conceited
papa,[44] f., potato; — *dulce,* sweet potato
papalina, f., bonnet
pasando mañana = *pasado mañana*
pato, m., duck (as in SC), teakettle
*pelizcar**[44] = *pellizcar*
pelo, m., hair (of body, or of animals, only)
pendejo,[44] *-a,* stupid, awkward (*vulgar*)
peo or *po** = *pero*
perrete del agua, m., water dog (Colo.)
pescador, m., catcher (in game of ball)
pescar, to catch (a ball, etc.)
*pesla** = *perla*
petaquilla, f., trunk (also *baúl*)
pichar (< Eng.), to pitch (a ball)
pinole, m., cornmeal (mush)
platón,[44] m., wash basin (*jofaina* and *palangana* rare)
plaza, f., village, town; *en* —, down town
ploga (< Eng.), f., plug (of tobacco)
polvillo, m., toasted bread, ground and steeped
pollito, -a, prettily dressed (applied to children)
pompa (= *bomba*), f., pump
poniente, m., west as in SC (*oeste* rare)
*poque**[44] = *porque*
pozo, m., hole (in the ground); *este camino tiene pozos muy feos,* there are some bad ruts in this road
pretales, m. pl., suspenders (also *tirantes* in New Mex.)
privado, m., water closet (also *letrina*)
puela, f., frying pan (cf. French *poêle*)
*punshe,** m., smoking tobacco
pus[44] or *pos* = *pues*
quel = *aquel*
*¿quese?** (< *¿qué es de?*), what has become of? where is (are)?

qui = *aquí*
rábano, m., turnip
rabón: *pantalones rabones*, knee breeches
raíz quemosa, f., radish
ranchero, m., farmer
rancho, m., farm; *hacer* —, to go into camp
ratón pardo, m., grey squirrel
rayar: *¿cuánto rayas?* how much do you make? *nos rayan el sábado*, they pay us on Saturday
reata, f., rope of cowhide or horse hair
rebozo, m., woman's cotton scarf or shawl, worn over the head and shoulders
recordar, to awake, as in SC (*despertar* rare)
redibar = *derribar*
relós[45] = *reloj*
renegar, to curse, as in SC (*maldecir* rare)
reparar, to buck; *el bronco me tumbó reparando*, the "bronco" bucked me off
resurar (< *rasurar*), to shave, as in SC (*afeitar* rare)
riir or *rir*[45] = *reír*
rito (dim. of *río*), m., small brook
rosa, f., wild rose; — *de Castilla*, cultivated rose
saco, m., man's coat; — *de moda*, evening ("dress") coat
salado, *-a*, unhappy, cursed
salarata, f., baking powder
salitre, m., alkali
sarape, m., man's shawl or blanket
se = *ese*
semitas, f. pl., poor quality of wheat flour
señá[45] = *señora* (*señora* also used)
shaguaripa: *sombrero de* —, straw hat
shaquegüe,* m., Indian corn mush

[45] Also in Colombia (Bransby).

silla,[45] f., saddle (as also in SC)
silleta,[45] f., chair; — *mecedora*, rocking chair
sopalpía,* f., "tortilla" fried in lard
sopanda, f., spring; — *de cama*, bed spring; *asiento de* —, spring seat
sueñoso, *-a*, sleepy
suidá = *ciudad*
tahuré = *tahur*
talache, m., pickaxe
talento, m.: *sombrero de* —, "derby" hat
talla, f., (railway) tie
tamal, m., "tamale"
tamién[45] = *también*
tánape (< Eng. turnip), m., turnip
tanque = *estanque*
*tanre** = *tan re-* (intensive prefix); *tanre-bueno*, very good
tápalo, m., shawl
tato,* m., father, grandfather (term of affection)
te = *este*
tecolote, m., little owl
tegua, f., moccasin (kind of shoe)
tejamanil, m., shingle
temole, m., chili stew
tenta (< Eng.), f., tent (also *carpa*)
terno, m., set; — *de cuarto*, set of furniture; — *de trastes*, set of dishes
tiempo de frío, m., winter (also *ivierno*)
tilma, f., short Indian blanket or apron
tió, *-á*, m., f., somewhat contemptuous term of address to an inferior (somewhat as in SC)
tortilla, f., round cake or roll, made from wheat flour, or from scalded and ground Indian corn; — *de frijoles*, roll containing beans. The crisp edge of the "tortilla"

is sometimes used as a spoon, hence the saying, *comer tuí cuchara*, "to lick the platter clean."

trai(r), *trayer*, or *trer**[46] = *traer*

tranvía, f. = —, m. (central New Mex.)

tras (*de la mano*), m., back (of the hand)

trastero, m., cupboard

trastes, m. pl., dishes

tripa, f., garden hose

troncón, m., tree stump

trotear = *trotar*

*tuí** = *todo y*; *con tuí libros*, books and all

túnico, woman's gown

tuso, m., prairie dog

tuta,* no, not at all

víbora, f., (general name for) snake

vinaigre = *vinagre*

*vita** (< *vidita*), f., darling

uir or *oyer* = *oír*

yerba, f., weed (cf. *zacate*)

zacatal, m., haystack

zacate, m., grass, hay

zancarrón, m., ankle

zapato de hule, m., rubber overshoe

zoquete, m., mud (*lodo* rare)

zoquetoso, *-a*, muddy

[46] Also in Colombia (Bransby).

THE QUECHUA DRAMA, *OLLANTA*

I

Ollanta is the most important literary work that has been composed in any language indigenous to America. The drama itself has little intrinsic merit, but it has become famous by reason of the fact that many suppose it to have been composed before the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. This theory of the antiquity of *Ollanta* has been held by Barranca,[1] Tschudi,[2] Markham,[3] Pacheco Zegarra,[4] and others of less weight; and it has come to be accepted by a not inconsiderable number of historians and writers of encyclopedic articles.[5]

[1] José S. Barranca, *Ollanta, ó sea la severidad de un padre y la clemencia de un rey, drama dividido en tres actos, traducido del quichua al castellano, con notas diversas,* Lima, 1868.

[2] J. J. von Tschudi, *Die Kechuasprache,* 3 vols., Wien, 1853. (The second part contains the text of *Ollanta*).

——, *Ollanta. Ein altperuanisches drama aus der Kechuasprache. Übersetzt und commentirt.* Wien, 1875.

——, *Ollanta,* in *K. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.* Wien, 1876.

The second and third publications contain what is known as Tschudi's second text of *Ollanta.* All quotations from *Ollanta* and all line-numbers that are cited in the present article refer to Tschudi's first text; but whenever Tschudi's opinion with regard to the origin of *Ollanta* is quoted, the reference is to the pages of the third publication.

[3] Clements R. Markham, *Ollanta, an Ancient Ynca drama. Translated from the Original Quichua.* London, 1871 (contains a Quechua text, with a translation into English).

——, *The Incas of Peru,* London, 1910 (contains *Apu Ollantay,* a translation into English).

[4] Gavino Pacheco Zegarra, *Ollantaï, drame en vers quechuas du temps des Incas, traduit et commenté,* Paris, 1878.

[5] Cf. *Encyclopedia Britannica,* Vol. XXI (1911), p. 269 (speaks of *Ollanta* as an "Inca drama"); *New International Encyclopedia,* Vol. XV (1905), p. 638 ("There was also a considerable body of song, legend, and drama handed down by oral tradition. Among these the drama of *Ollanta,* committed to writing soon after the conquest, has been translated into several languages"); Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America,* Vol. I (1889), p. 282 (" . . . the drama of *Ollanta,* in all essential points, is of Inca origin," in article written by Markham); John Fiske, *The Discovery of America,* Vol. II (1892), p. 363

If *Ollanta* was composed before the Spanish conquest, it is, with the possible exception of a few short lyrics, the only specimen of ancient Quechua[6] poetry that has survived, and it is therefore of the greatest interest to students of comparative literature and to American archaeologists. When we are told that a complete dramatic text has come down to us, virtually intact, from the ancient Peruvians, we are to be excused if we doubt at first. The burden of proof certainly rests on those who claim antiquity for *Ollanta,* and scholars should not accept the claim without conclusive evidence. It is the aim of this article to give an account of *Ollanta,* and then to present whatever evidence we now possess both for and against its antiquity.

The following is a résumé of the play:[7]

Act I.—Ollanta, a chieftain of lowly birth, has won the love of Cusi-Coyllur ("Joy-Star"), daughter of the Inca Pachacutic. He speaks of his love to his servant, Piqui-Chaqui ("Flea-Foot"), and later to the high priest, Uillac-Umu (prophet or seer), both of whom warn him of the risk of wooing the Inca's daughter. In another scene the queen, Ccoya, who knows of this love-affair, seeks to console her daughter, who weeps and declares her fear that Ollanta has deserted her. Enter the king. Enter a chorus of boys and girls who dance. The boys sing to distract Cusi-Coyllur.[8] Exit the boys, and

("The Incas had bardic recitals and theatrical exhibitions; and one ancient drama, entitled 'Ollanta,' has come down to us"); James Bryce, *South America* (1913), pp. 155 f. ("There were, however, dramas which used to be acted, and among them one considerable work which, long preserved by oral recitations, was written down in the seventeenth century by Dr. Valdez, a Spaniard, the priest of Sicuani, and generally held to be in the main of native authorship, though perhaps touched up by Spanish taste. This is the so-called drama of Ollantay"); *et al.*

[6] Or "Quichua." Most modern scholars prefer "Quechua" or "Queshua." Thus, Tschudi, Pacheco Zegarra, Middendorf, Pietschmann, Lenz, and others.

[7] The orthography of the proper names is that of Tschudi's first text, with the one exception of Uillac-Umu (Huillca-Uma in the first text) which Tschudi, in his second edition, adopts from Markham's text, and which Middendorf (see page 61 of this article) also adopts.

[8] The following is a literal translation of Middendorf's version of this song ("O Tuya" is repeated after each line): "Little bird, do not eat,—O

the maidens sing a *yarahui*.[9] Ollanta appears before the king, and asks his daughter in marriage. The king refuses in anger, and dismisses Ollanta. In a monologue the latter gives expression to his sorrow and resentment.[10] Ollanta and Piqui-Chaqui speak of flight from Cuzco. A song by an invisible singer is heard.[11]

Tuya,—In my princess' garden—Do not thus consume—The delicious maize.—White are the grains,—The ears are tender,—Of good savor within;—Soft are the leaves.—The snare for the greedy;—In the bird-lime thou shalt stick.—I shall cut off thy claws,—And thou shalt be caught.—Ask of the Piscaca.—You see it is strangled.—Ask for its heart;—Seek its feathers;—You see it has been torn to pieces.—It picked only one little grain;—The same will befall you,—If only one (grain) is missing." The spirit of this song would seem to indicate that it may be an adaptation of a folk-song. The *tuya* is a small bird. The *piscaca* is a larger bird whose dead body is sometimes fastened to a tree, to frighten away the *tuya*.

[9] The following is a literal translation of Middendorf's version: "Two loving doves mourn and grieve, sigh and coo on an old, dry tree-trunk: a cruel fate has separated them. But one, it is told, lost its beloved companion in a stony field; it had never left it alone before. And the dove weeps and laments when it sees its companion and finds that it is already dead. And it sings in these words: 'Where are thy eyes, O dove, and where thy lovely breast, thy heart so dear to me, thy softly caressing mouth?' And the abandoned dove, wandering from rock to rock, calling out in tears, flies hither and thither, ever asking: 'My heart, where art thou?' Thus speaking, it flutters, and one morning it sinks down dead."

[10] As this monologue is generally considered the strongest passage in the drama, a literal translation of Middendorf's version is given here: "O Ollanta, Ollanta, thus does he (the king) expose thee to the scorn of all the land in return for so many services which thou hast rendered! O Cusi-Coyllur, my wife, today I have lost thee. I have brought thee to destruction, O princess. O my dove! O Cuzco, O beautiful city, from today, in the future, I shall be an enemy, an enemy, who will cruelly tear open thy bosom, to cast to the vultures thy heart, this tyrant, thy Inca. Persuading the Antis and seducing my countrymen, I shall bring many, many thousands, armed with shields. On the Sacsahuaman thou wilt perceive my warriors like a cloud. Then the flames will rise; thou wilt sleep in blood and thy Inca at my feet. Then shall he learn whether the valleys will fail me, whether thou still hast a voice. 'By no means can I give her to thee,' he said to me, (speaking) of his daughter. And then this word also escaped him: 'But she could not be for thee,' he said, terribly enraged, as I besought him on my knees. He is king because I am here: every one knows that. Now let happen (what may)!" Sacsahuaman is a hill overlooking Cuzco on which are the ruins of an ancient fortress or palace. Cf. Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú, Segunda parte* (edición de Jiménez de la Espada; Madrid, 1880), chap. li; Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, pp. 32 f.; and Bryce, *South America*, p. 118.

[11] The following is a literal translation of Middendorf's version of the "Song of the Unknown": "A dove that I cherished I lost in a moment. If you wish

Act II.—A messenger reports to the king and his general, Rumiñahui ("Stone-Eye"), that the Andean mountaineers have rebelled and proclaimed Ollanta their king. The scene now shifts to the fortress of Ollanta-Tambo.[12] The chiefs and people proclaim Ollanta king. In a lonely mountain pass Rumiñahui bemoans his defeat by Ollanta's forces. The scene shifts to the convent of the elect virgins in Cuzco. Pitu-Salla ("Mother-Stone") urges Yma-Sumac ("Very-Beautiful"), a girl some ten years of age (the fruit of the love of Ollanta and Cusi-Coyllur), to remain in the convent; but Yma-Sumac does not wish to become an elect virgin, and she tells of hearing some one sob at night. Rumiñahui meets Piqui-Chaqui on a street in Cuzco, and tells him that the Inca Pachacutic is dead and his son, Thupac-Yupanqui, has ascended the throne. The new Inca urges Rumiñahui to conquer Ollanta. Rumiñahui, covered with self-inflicted wounds, betakes himself to Ollanta's fortress, and declares that, having been thus ill treated by the Inca, he has come to join forces with Ollanta.

Act III.—In the convent of the elect virgins, Pitu-Salla leads Yma-Sumac to the dark dungeon in which Cusi-Coyllur lies bound with a chain. Mother and daughter recognize each other. In the king's palace, a messenger announces the defeat and capture of Ollanta by Rumiñahui. The latter soon appears and confirms the news of his victory, relating how he won the confidence of Ollanta, and

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to see her, seek her near here. She is loving and fair of face: her name is Star. You might mistake her for another: look at her well. The moon and the sun, in bright radiance, shine upon her brow joyously. And her soft hair of deepest black forms with the white of her beautiful ear a contrast that blinds the eye. The eye-brows form rainbows upon her lovely face: two suns shine forth from her eyes about which are the rainbows. The eye-lashes scarcely let the all-victorious glances escape. There dwells love, beaming on all and captivating hearts. The achancarai (a red flower) blooms on her face, in the midst of snow: white alternates with red,—such is her appearance. In her beautiful mouth one sees snowy pearls, and when she smiles her sweet breath is wafted forth. And her soft neck, smooth as crystal, is as white as snow: her lovely breasts rise and fall with her bosom. Her tender little hand feels so soft, and her fingers, when they open, resemble icicles."

[12] The ruins of this structure are twelve leagues from Cuzco. In the early chronicles they are spoken of as Tampu or Tambo. Cf. Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales, Primera parte* (Lisbon, 1609), V, 5, and Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú* (Seville, 1533; and in *Bibl. de aut. esp., Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Madrid, 1879), chap. xciv. Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 185) believes that they date from a pre-Inca civilization.

how, when Ollanta's men were drunk during the festival of the sun, he overpowered them. Ollanta and his followers are brought bound before the Inca, who at first condemns them to death and then, moved by pity, pardons them. The Inca restores Ollanta to his former rank, and announces that during his absence in a military campaign Ollanta shall serve as Inca in his stead. Yma-Sumac bursts into the hall, and, throwing herself in tears at the king's feet, tells of her mother's cruel imprisonment. The king and his retinue go to the convent of the elect virgins, and there Cusi-Coyllur is recognized by both her brother and her lover. The Inca orders the release of Cusi-Coyllur, and gives her in marriage to Ollanta; and the play closes to the accompaniment of music.

The fact that *Ollanta* first appeared in the Quechua language has no bearing whatever on the question of the play's antiquity. It is a well-known fact that in the Spanish colonies the priests were required to learn the native tongues, and, after residing for many years among the Indians, they came to speak the indigenous languages as well as Spanish. They translated from Spanish many religious works and wrote and published grammars and dictionaries of the native speeches. Sacred dramatic representations were given both in Spanish and in the indigenous languages almost from the time of the conquest. Pacheco Zegarra[13] states that the early missionaries in Peru composed *autos,* some of which were in Quechua only, while in others Spanish and Quechua stanzas alternated. According to Beristain,[14] at least two plays of Lope de Vega were early done into Nahuatl by Bartolomé de Alba, of Aztec descent, and performed, viz.: *El animal profeta y dichoso parricida San Julián* and *La madre de la Mejor.* D. Vicente G. Quesada, in his *Crónicas potosinas* (Paris, 1890), Vol. I, p. 305,[15] gives an account of scenic

[13] *Op. cit.,* p. lxxxv.

[14] *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional, México,* 1816–1821.

[15] Quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos,* Vol. III (1894), pp. cclxxxvi f.

fêtes at Potosí in the early days of that famous mining town. They seem to have been largely in the nature of historical pageants, and represented deeds of both the Incas and the Spanish conquerors. Verses were recited in Spanish and in Quechua. Pacheco Zegarra[16] speaks of several dramas that were written in Quechua after the conquest, and gives the titles (but not the authors and the dates) of *La muerte de Atahuallpa, Usca Paucar,* and *Huasca Inca.* Middendorf has published the Quechua plays, *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar* (see page 68 of this article); and Markham has in his possession manuscript copies of *Usca Paucar* and *El Pobre más rico.* Pacheco Zegarra[17] tells us that his great-uncle, D. Pedro Zegarra (d. 1839), translated Racine's *Phèdre* into Quechua, and that the play was performed at least once. The Quechua language is still generally spoken by the Indians in the highlands of Peru,[18] but as the aboriginal population is mostly illiterate, Quechua literary works come from those who have been trained in Spanish schools. The *regionalista* movement of the nineteenth century which brought, for the time being, new life to Provençal, Catalán, Welsh, and other languages that are in danger of extinction, may have reached the Quechua also and stimulated interest in *Ollanta.*

This Quechua drama seems to have come to light between 1770 and 1780 when a manuscript was produced by Dr. Antonio Valdés, parish priest of Tinta,[19] who had the play performed with great pomp[20] before his friend, José Gabriel Condorcanqui (1744–1781), a native chieftan. This chieftain, who was of Inca blood, led a revolt against the Spaniards in 1780, with the Inca-title of Tupac-Amaru II, and was defeated and put to death together with all his family. Immediately after the revolt an order was issued against the

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. cvii.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. cxxiv.
[18] Cf. Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 461.
[19] And, at one time, of Sicuani.
[20] Cf. Pacheco Zegarra, *op. cit.*, p. cxix.

performance of secular plays in the Quechua language.[21] We next hear of *Ollanta* in an article published in *El Museo erudito,* Cuzco, 1837, by D. Manuel Palacios,[22] entitled *Tradición de la rebelión de Ollanta* (or *Ollantay?*), *y acto heroico de fidelidad de Rumiñahui, ambos generales del tiempo de los Incas.* In an introduction to this article, Palacios says:

No encontrándose otra narración escrita de este antiquísimo suceso que la comedia que en lengua quechua formó pocos años ha el Dr. Antonio Valdés, cura que fué de Sicuani. Bien que confeccionada dicha pieza con el uniforme relato de la tradición, se encuentran innovaciones y voluntariedades que sin duda se las franqueó la licencia poética; ya en la invención de los nombres de los sujetos que representan el drama, y ya en el desenlace que resulta de él; que ni la tradición lo ministra, ni la equidad y justicia lo permiten; haciendo que un rey premie extraordinariamente la infidencia de Ollanta y en nada recompense la fidelidad heroica de Rumiñahui. Lo más notable en ello es el anacronismo que padece, haciendo inmediato sucesor del Inca Pachacutic, en cuyo tiempo y al fin de su reinado supone el suceso de Ollanta, a Tupac-Inca-Yupanqui, que fué nieto de aquél é hijo del Inca Yupanqui, verdadero sucesor inmediato de Pachacutic.

According to this tradition, which Palacios obtained from the members of a certain native family, Rumiñahui entered the convent of the elect virgins, and was therefor condemned to death. A report of this incident soon reached Ollanta's camp. Rumiñahui explained his plot to the king, and was allowed to flee to Ollanta, whom he betrayed. Palacios says at the end of the tradition:

Aquí fenece la tradición sin expresar ni el premio que dió el Inca a Rumiñahui ni el castigo de Ollanta . . . La conteste narración de

[21] *Ibid.,* p. cix.

[22] The article was reprinted in an appendix to Pacheco Zegarra's work. Tschudi, who had not seen the article, attributes its authorship to José Palacios (cf. *Ollanta,* in *K. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse,* p. 190).

los historiadores del reino sobre la inviolable justificación del gobierno de los Incas nos obliga a creer que el delito de Ollanta no quedaría impune ni tampoco sin recompensa el heroismo de Rumiñahui.

It should be noted that in this article the authorship of *Ollanta* is attributed to Dr. Valdés. After the latter's death in 1816, his nephew and heir, D. Narciso Cuenta, produced a manuscript copy of the play (in Valdés' handwriting, according to Tschudi),[23] and declared that his uncle wrote it. So far as can be learned, the truth of this statement by Cuenta was not denied till many years later. It is said by those who uphold the antiquity of *Ollanta* that Dr. Valdés never claimed to be its author.[24] This may, or may not, be true; but, in any case, after the execution of Tupac-Amaru and most of his friends, and after the strict prohibition of secular Quechua dramas, Valdés had good reason to remain silent.

In 1853, in the chrestomathy of the second volume of his *Die Kechuâsprache,*[25] Tschudi published an edition of the text of *Ollanta,* but without a translation. Tschudi states that he received a copy of the play from Rugendas, a painter from Munich who had spent a year or two sketching in Peru.[26] Rugendas told him that he had seen the manuscript in the monastery of Santo Domingo at Cuzco, and had had it copied by a member of the order. The manuscript, he said, was in bad condition, and in part illegible.[27] In this text the play

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

[24] D. Vicente Fidel López, in *Les Races aryennes du Pérou* (p. 325), says that his father, a friend of Valdés, did not know that the latter was the author of *Ollanta*; but he adds: "Toutefois je suis loin de prétendre que la forme actuelle du drame soit antérieure à la conquête."

[25] Cf. *op. cit.*

[26] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 191.

[27] Middendorf (p. 114) relates that he visited the monastery of Santo Domingo to examine the manuscript, but he was told by both the prior and the librarian that they had never heard of the manuscript. The catalogue of the library did not contain the title of *Ollanta,* and although Middendorf searched the archives he failed to find a copy of the play.

was divided into three acts, but it was not divided into scenes. In 1868 Barranca, a professor of natural sciences in the University of San Marcos at Lima, published a Spanish version of *Ollanta,* but without the Quechua text.[28] This version, which is in good idiomatic Spanish, seems to be a rather free translation of Tschudi's text. In an introduction, Barranca advances the theory that *Ollanta* consists of ancient fragments put together by Valdés, and he bases his belief in their antiquity on certain reasons of which the following are the most important: that there is no mention of Christianity, and a pagan society is pictured; it contains songs still heard; the language is archaic (although there are very few obsolete words); the manuscripts differ; and there is a chorus. Eighteen years after the appearance of Tschudi's edition, Markham published a text of *Ollanta*[29] which he himself had transcribed from a manuscript in the possession of D. Pablo Justiniani of Laris, Peru. In the introduction, which is short and of a popular nature, Markham states that Justiniani (who claimed to be of Inca blood) assured him that the drama was first reduced to writing by Dr. Valdés, and that the original manuscript was at that time in the possession of Valdés' nephew and heir, D. Narciso Cuenta of Tinta; that his (Justiniani's) copy was made by his father, D. Justo Pastor Justiniani, from Valdés' manuscript. Markham gives an English version of *Ollanta* and expresses his belief that the play is ancient. This second text of *Ollanta* is of value, for it contains some lines that had been omitted in Tschudi's edition and also some variants; but, unfortunately, it has many errors, probably made in copying.[30] Markham gives

[28] Cf. *op. cit.*

[29] Cf. *op. cit.*

[30] Tschudi (*op. cit.*, pp. 205 f.) twits Markham with ignorance of Quechua and says his translation follows Barranca's version. And Pacheco Zegarra (*op. cit.*, p. cxviii) says: "Après un examen attentif des travaux de Markham

the following reasons for believing *Ollanta* to be ancient: that the language is archaic, and that "there is not a single modern or Spanish word or phrase in the whole work . . . *Ollanta* is absolutely free from any indication of a Spanish touch."[31] Dr. José Fernández Nodal published in 1873 or 1874 (no date is given) his *Elementos de la gramática quichua ó idioma de los Yncas.* Volume V, entitled *Prosodia,* contains a text of *Ollanta* with a translation into Spanish. This volume was later reprinted separately with the title: *Los vínculos de Ollanta y Cusi-kcuyllor. El rigor de un padre y magnanimidad de un monarca. Drama en quichua. Obra compilada y espurgada con la version castellana al frente de su testo por el Dr. José Fernández Nodal, abogado de los tribunales de justicia de la república del Perú,* Ayacucho (but apparently printed in London in 1874). In the introduction, which is very brief, Dr. Nodal says:

> Tal es el título de la más grande composición de la literatura del quichua que se guarda en algunos archivos del Perú. Se le atribuye por autor al Dr. D. Antonio Valdez, cura de Sicuani, que vivió por el tiempo de la insurrección de Tupac Amaro en 1781. Los que han querido recargar su mérito, concediéndole la antigüedad de la época de los Yncas, pretenden haberse representado a presencia de estos últimos monarcas en las festividades solemnes.

Tschudi, in his second edition,[32] says Nodal's text differs from all others, and was probably rewritten by Nodal himself. He expresses his belief, however, that Nodal had a thorough knowledge of Quechua. But Pacheco Zegarra[33] sharply criticizes Nodal's bizarre text.

sur le quechua, nous sommes arrivé à souscrire pleinement au jugement de Tschudi qui pense que la langue des Incas était pour cet auteur un terrain étranger où il ne pouvait que s'égarer." These criticisms are scarcely fair, as Markham was then just beginning his Peruvian studies.

[31] *Op. cit.,* p. 10.

[32] *Op. cit.,* p. 208.

[33] *Op. cit.,* pp. cxv and cxxi.

Tschudi published in 1875 and again in 1876 a second edition of *Ollanta*,[34] with a translation into German. This text differs considerably from that first published by Tschudi. The editor corrected what he considered to be errors, he added or substituted words or lines from Markham's text and from that of a certain Bolivian manuscript, he changed the form of words, and especially the suffixes, to make them conform to the Quechua of the sixteenth century,[35] and he devised a new orthography to express better the sounds of the Quechua language. In a long introduction Tschudi expresses his belief in the antiquity of *Ollanta* and bases this belief chiefly on the following reasons: that Garcilaso states that the ancient Peruvians had tragedies and comedies;[36] the drama is written fully in the spirit of the Inca-Peruvians; there is no reference to Christianity; Ollanta and his beloved do not meet alone in the play, and Ollanta is a sorry hero (he praises his own heroism and is finally captured when drunk); in the rapid changes of time and place the play, he says, differs from the old Spanish drama; the language of the play is archaic and does not conform to the popular speech of today (1875) or at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and there are almost no Spanish words or idioms; and the meter is not Spanish, as some lines are of irregular length and some are incomplete, and the movement is regularly trochaic.

Tschudi also presents in this second edition an important

[34] Cf. *opera cit.*

[35] This is the most important change of all, and it is not mentioned in the introduction. Apparently Tschudi was so convinced of the antiquity of *Ollanta* that he considered the modern forms of his manuscript copy to be errors of a copyist; or, as Middendorf (page 124) suggests, he was ignorant of modern Quechua.

[36] Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 195) believes that *Ollanta* survived as it was peculiarly the love-poem of the Cuzco Indians, while hundreds of other poems were lost.

piece of evidence against the authorship of Valdés. In 1858 Herr Harmsen, a resident of Arequipa, Peru, gave Tschudi several books and manuscripts in the Quechua language, among which was a manuscript copy of *Ollanta.* This manuscript had seemingly been water-soaked and was partly decayed, so that only 466 whole verses and 172 defective verses were legible. It bore a Spanish title, *Ollanta, ó la severidad de un padre y la clemencia de un rey.* At the end of the text were words in Spanish that Tschudi deciphered as follows:

Na Sra de la Paz
oi 18 de Junio de 1735
Miguel Ortiz

Now this date, if correctly deciphered, is approximately that of the birth of Dr. Valdés, and if the copy was made at that time, Valdés, of course, could not be the author. Middendorf[37] brushes this evidence aside as of little value. He speaks of Tschudi's "so-called Bolivian manuscript," and suggests that the correct reading is probably 1785. In this second edition Tschudi gives, in parallel columns, copies of his first text and of Markham's text, together with the variants found in the Bolivian manuscript. This makes the work highly valuable to the student of *Ollanta,* although Tschudi's introductory matter and notes are disappointingly deficient in critical scholarship. The next edition of *Ollanta* to appear was that of Pacheco Zegarra,[38] which was published at Paris in 1878, and contains the Quechua text in a phonetic alphabet devised by the editor together with a free translation into French, an introduction and notes, and, in an appendix, a copy of the article in *El Museo erudito.* The text of this edition is in the main that of Tschudi, but with variants taken from Markham's copy and also from another manuscript

[37] Page 134. [38] Cf. *op. cit.*

copy formerly in the possession of Pacheco Zegarra's great-uncle D. Pedro Zegarra. The editor arbitrarily divides the play into scenes and dialogues. Pacheco Zegarra holds that *Ollantaï,* and not *Ollanta,* is the correct form of the name, and that the suffix *-i* denotes the inhabitant of a place, so that *Ollantaï* means an inhabitant of Ollanta.[39] Middendorf[40] denies this and states positively that there is no such locative suffix in Quechua. Pacheco Zegarra was for years a resident of Cuzco, where Quechua is still commonly spoken, and his phonetic alphabet, therefore, is of value to the student of modern Quechua; but he seems not to have been acquainted with the older Quechua, for when Tschudi changed his text to conform to the language of the sixteenth century, Pacheco Zegarra cried out that Tschudi was introducing new forms. Pacheco Zegarra's work is interesting by reason of the author's knowledge of modern Quechua and of the life and customs of the present-day indigenous peoples of Peru. He also presents a mass of material bearing on the setting of *Ollanta,* some of which is important. But his work, as a whole, is hasty and ill-digested and reveals a lack of critical judgment. In his Introduction he accepts without reservation the more or less fanciful accounts of an ancient Peruvian Utopia;[41] he accepts as authenticated the existence of a well-

[39] *Ibid.,* p. xxxiii. We have already spoken of the prehistoric ruins of Tambo, or Ollanta-Tambo, twelve leagues from Cuzco, which some writers assume to have been Ollanta's place of refuge. Tschudi (*op. cit.,* p. 187) says: "I hold, therefore, that Ollanta was not the name of an individual but of a ruling family, that this (family) had already built the palace and the fortress (of Tambo) in pre-Inca times, and that the fortress was already in ruins before the Inca dynasty was firmly established." But Tschudi offers no satisfactory evidence in favor of this assumption.

[40] *Op. cit.,* p. 90.

[41] When the Spaniards reached Peru, the half-brothers Huascar and Atahuallpa were engaged in a fierce fratricidal struggle, which ended with the assassination of Huascar by the secret orders of his brother. And yet Pacheco Zegarra, after relating this fact, blandly continues: "Les Incas étaient loin de ressembler à ces fameux aventuriers qui de nos jours, sans autre mobile que la

developed dramatic literature in old Peru (quoting Garcilaso and Prescott), although *"la peinture et la sculpture étaient encore tout-à-fait dans l'enfance parmi eux,"*[42] and states that *"Ollantaï"* is *"l'unique monument qui nous reste du génie des Incas en matière de poésie,"*[43] and again, *"Ollantaï"* is *"tout ce qui reste de la littérature de l'empire."*[44] In addition to the arguments that had already been advanced in favor of the ancient origin of the play, Pacheco Zegarra gives these: there is not an idea that is exclusively peculiar to the literatures of modern Europe or to the Latin and Greek; the chorus was not used in the old Spanish drama; the unities of time, place, and action are observed to a less degree than even in the works of the romantic poets; the scenes shift oftener than would be possible on the modern stage; the verse differs from Spanish in that there are rhymed couplets, there is occasionally assonance of every line to the number of eight or more consecutive lines,[45] synalepha is rare, and a line left unfinished by one speaker is never completed by another; and the song, "O Tuya," is still heard in Cuzco.

The most scholarly treatment of *Ollanta* by a Quechua scholar which has thus far appeared is the work entitled

soif du lucre, sans autres aspirations que celle de leur ambition démesurée, montent à l'assaut du pouvoir suprême, après avoir épuisé dans les guerres fratricides les richesses de leur patrie et versé à flots le sang de leur concitoyens" (*op. cit.*, p. xxix). Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 178) avers that human sacrifice was common even under the Incas, and was finally suppressed by the Spaniards. Cieza de León (*op. cit., 2a parte*) speaks several times of human sacrifice. Cf. chap. xxviii. Middendorf (page 19) believes, however, that it did not form part of the worship of the sun. There seems little doubt that the vaunted "civilization" of the ancient Peruvians has been greatly exaggerated by Garcilaso, by the early chroniclers who seem to have believed all that the old grandmothers told them, and by most who have followed.

[42] Pacheco Zegarra, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

[45] The writer of this article has not found such *laisses* of assonated lines in any of the texts.

Ollanta, ein Drama der Keshuasprache. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen, nebst einer Einleitung über die religiösen und staatlichen Einrichtungen der Inkas, von Dr. E. W. Middendorf (Leipzig, 1890).[46] This writer states in his Preface that when he began his study of the Quechua play he assumed it to be ancient, but "at the first reading of *Ollanta* doubts concerning the antiquity of the play occurred to him, which with further investigation so increased that it was no longer possible to doubt the modern origin of the drama. . . . in its present form," and he adds: "it is a modern work and was certainly composed a long time after the Spanish conquest of the country." Later in the work he says again: "The play in its present form, and in the language given in the manuscripts, does not come from the time of the Incas, but was composed after the conquest of the country by the Spaniards."[47] Middendorf did what no one had done before him in that he made a careful comparison of the language of the Tschudi and Markham texts with the Quechua of the sixteenth century as given in the works of Holguín and others.[48] He shows that the phonology of older Quechua differs considerably from that of the modern language. Thus,

[46] Other works on the indigenous languages of Peru, by Dr. Middendorf, are: *Das Runa Simi oder die Keshua-Sprache,* Leipzig, 1890; *Wörterbuch des Runa Simi oder der Keshua-Sprache,* Leipzig, 1890; *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen der Keshua-Sprache,* Leipzig, 1891; *Die Ainmarà-Sprache,* Leipzig, 1891; *Das Muchik oder die Chimu-Sprache,* Leipzig, 1892.

[47] *Op. cit.,* p. 135.

[48] Among the earlier grammars and lexicons of Quechua are: *Grammática ó Arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Perú, nuevamente compuesta por el Maestro Fray Domingo de S. Thomas de la orden de S. Domingo,* Valladolid, 1560; *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua Qquichua, ó Lengua del Inca, por Diego González Holguin de la Compañía de Jesus,* Lima, 1586; *Grammática y Arte nueva* (the rest of the title as above), Lima, 1607; *Grammática y Vocabulario en la lengua general del Perú llamada Quichua y en la lengua Española, por Diego de Torres Rubio,* Sevilla, 1603; Lima, 1619, 1700, 1754. Cf. Pacheco Zegarra, *op. cit.,* pp. clxv f.; and Middendorf, *Das Runa Simi oder di Keshua-Sprache,* pp. 29 f.

in the sixteenth century, the genitive suffix, after a single vowel, was *-p,* while it is now *-c* (compare old *yayap* with modern *yayac*) ; the accusative suffix after a vowel was *-cta,* which has become *-ta* (cf. *yayacta* and *yayata*) ; the verbal ending of the first and second persons plural was *-c,* which has become *-s* (cf. *canchic* and *canchis*) ; etc. He found that in the manuscripts of the seventeenth century the modern forms begin to make their appearance, and there is hesitancy between the two forms so that not seldom both occur on the same page.[49] Now, in the known manuscripts of Ollanta only the modern forms occur: these manuscripts, therefore, are of later date than the seventeenth century.[50] Middendorf finds some archaic words in the drama, but not more than one would expect in view of the fact that it was reduced to writing a hundred years before his day.[51] Other important grounds on which Middendorf bases his belief in the modern origin of *Ollanta* are: the ancient Quechua verse did not have rhyme; the action of the play does not conform to the laws and customs of the ancient Peruvians in that Ollanta, who is "not of Inca blood" (v. 238), marries the Inca's daughter, and Yma Sumac enters and leaves the convent of the elect virgins at will; Spanish words and translations of Spanish idioms are found in the text, and there are references to things and customs that were introduced by the Spaniards.[52]

[49] Middendorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 f.

[50] Markham apparently accepts this conclusion as final, as he grants that the play was "first reduced to writing in 1770" (*The Incas of Peru*, p. 323).

[51] Tschudi, who seems to have known the older Quechua better than that spoken in his day, in his second edition of the text of *Ollanta* has conscientiously substituted old for new forms. Thus: v. 6: *Yncac* (1st ed.) > *Incap* (2d ed.); v. 17: *cuncaiquita* (1st ed.) > *cuncaikicta* (2d ed.); v. 194: *upyanchis* (1st ed.) > *upiyanchik* (2d ed.). In v. 194 Tschudi, by using the archaic form, makes the line too long by one syllable.

[52] These are treated more fully in the critical analysis of the play in the third part of this article.

The Rev. J. H. Gybbon Spilsbury published in 1897, at Buenos Aires, a work entitled *El Quichua, gramática y crestomatía, seguido de la traducción de un manuscrito inédito del drama titulado Ollantay*. This sounds interesting; but the work has no introduction, nor does the editor deign to state where he found the *"manuscrito inédito"* or where it now rests. He gives free translations of *Ollanta* in English, French, and Spanish, with the versions neatly arranged in parallel columns. One cannot discover in this work the slightest trace of scholarship.

In Markham's *The Incas of Peru* there is a free English translation, in verse, of *Ollanta,* with a short introduction, and a few pages on the subject in chapter x. An incomplete bibliography is given in which Middendorf's work does not appear. Markham repeats that Dr. Justiniani told him "that the *Ollantay* play was put into writing by Dr. Don Antonio Valdez, the cura of Sicuani, from the mouths of Indians." He still maintains that *Ollanta* is an ancient Inca drama, and his grounds for so believing are: that Garcilaso, Molina, and Salcamayhua mention the existence of ancient Quechua plays; that

> there is a clear proof that the memory of the old dramatic lore was preserved, and that the dramas were handed down by memory after the Spanish conquest. It is to be found in the sentence pronounced on the rebels by the Judge Areche, in 1781. It prohibited the representation of dramas as well as all other festivals which the Indians celebrated in memory of their Incas.[53]

The following translations of *Ollanta* have been published in addition to those already mentioned: *Ollanta. Drama quichua, puesto en verso castellano por Constantino Carrasco,* Lima, 1876. This is a metrical version of Barranca's transla-

[53] It will be recalled that this sentence was pronounced after the defeat of "Tupac Amaru II" and shortly after the first recorded appearance of *Ollanta.*

tion. German translation of *Ollanta,* in verse, by A. Wickenburg, Vienna, 1876. *Ollanta. Drama quechua, traducido en romance,* por B. Pacheco, Cuzco, 1881. Spanish translation of Pacheco Zegarra's French version, in Biblioteca Universal, Madrid, 1885.

II

Since the versification of *Ollanta* has not been treated fully in any of the editions, it is considered at some length in this article. With the exception of two lyrics, *Ollanta* is composed in octosyllabic verses. There are occasional lines too long or too short by one or more syllables: e.g.—10 syllables (138[54]); 9 syllables (38, 236[55]); 7 syllables (256); 6 syllables (9,[56] 228[57]). A curious peculiarity of the versification of the play is that a line left incomplete by one speaker is not completed in the next speech: e.g.—verses 263, 268. Of the eighteen incomplete lines in Tschudi's first text, however, seven are completed in Markham's text. Pacheco Zegarra[58] states that Quechua verses have regular trochaic movement, and therefore verses must have an even number of syllables, and a line of eight syllables is better adapted to the drama than lines of six or ten syllables; but a study of accentuation in the verses of *Ollanta* shows that the proportion of lines with regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is not much greater than in ordinary Spanish *romance*-verse.[59] The verses of Ollanta, therefore,

[54] The line numbers are those of Tschudi's first text. This line has 9 syllables in Markham's text.

[55] Both have 8 in Markham's text.

[56] Nine in Markham's text.

[57] Eight in Markham's text.

[58] *Op. cit.,* p. cxliii.

[59] Thus, in the monologues of Ollanta (verses 519–554) and Rumiñahui (verses 867–913), which are generally held to be the best parts of the play, of 83 lines, 44 cannot be read with regular binary movement.

are not necessarily octosyllabic by reason of regular trochaic movement, but would seem to be so because the author counted his syllables.

With regard to rhyme, the octosyllabic lines are chiefly in *redondillas* (*a b b a*), with occasional *décimas,*[60] *quintillas,*[61] rhymed couplets,[62] and blank lines.

The following passages illustrate the commoner verse-forms:[63]

Redondillas:

Huñu huñu huaranccata
Anticunata llullaspa
Suyuicunata tocllaspa
Pusamusacc pullccanccata,

Saccsa huamanpin ricunqui
Rimaita phuyuta hina;
Chaipin sayarincca nina
Yahuarpin chaipi puñunqui . . .
(Verses 534–541)

Quintilla:

Munacuscay Pitu-Salla
Haicac caman ñei pacanqui
Chai simita? Ricui Salla
Cai sonccoitan patmihuanqui
Caina hueqquehuan camalla . . .
(Verses 1195–1199)

Décima:

Chaichica cuyasccanmanchu
Chai qquellita cutichihuacc?
Mitcaspachu puririhuacc
Urmahuacc huc pponccomanchu?

[60] Cf. verses 152–181.

[61] Cf. verses 1195–1199.

[62] Cf. verses 293–310.

[63] The stress almost invariably falls on the penultimate syllable of a Quechua word.

Manan Ynca munanmanchu
Anchatan Ccoillurta cuyan[64]
Rimarinqui chairi cunan
Ttocyanccan phiñaricuspa
Ccantac ricui muspha muspha[65]
Auquimanta cahuac runan?
(Verses 172–181)

Rhymed couplets:

Ay Mamallay, ay Ñustallay
Ay huayllucusccai ccosallai
Ccanta ricsicunaipacha
Quillapi chai yana ppacha,
Ynitipas pacaricuspa
Ccospapurccan chiri uspha,
Phuyupas tacru ninahuan
Llaquita pailla huillahuan,
Ccoyllurpas chasca tucuspa
Chupata aisaricuspa
Tucuiñincu tapia carccan
Hinantinpas pisiparccan . . .
(Verses 293–304)

In the *redondillas, décimas,* and *quintillas,* assonance occasionally replaces consonantal rhyme.[66] In one lyrical passage, verses 1259–1297, there are several consecutive stanzas with the rhyme-scheme *a b a b a b c c*. Usually the final syllables of the last line of one speech do not rhyme with those of the first line of the following speech. Consequently, in rapid dialogue the rhyme is usually broken or may disappear entirely,[67] and even in long speeches the interposition of a

[64] Note assonance instead of consonantal rhyme.

[65] Aspirated *ph* and *th* rhyme with *p* and *t* respectively.

[66] Thus, verses 894–897:
Hinantimpin rumi ñitin
Hinantimpin ccacca pacan,
Ashuan acllasccacunatan
Chaipi, caipi cumpa sipin . . .

[67] Cf. Act II, Scene 9.

blank line is not rare. There are no series of alternate assonating lines as in the Spanish *romance*-verse.

In the "Boys' Song" (verses 349–365), the lines are of 10 syllables, with regular ternary movement. Thus:

Ama Píscco miccúichu Tuyállai
Ñustalláipa chacránta Tuyállai
Manan hína tucúichu Tuyállai
Hillorína saránta Tuyállai . . .[68]

This resembles the 10-syllable line that Iriarte used in Spain in the eighteenth century, and which, in the nineteenth century, was largely used in the patriotic hymns of Spain and Spanish America.[69] In most of these lines in *Ollanta,* excluding the refrain, there is the rhyme-scheme *a b a b, c d c d,* etc. The "Song of the Unknown" (verses 599–638) is in adonics, with rhyme-scheme *a b a b, c d c d,* etc., throughout. Thus:

Urpi uyhuáita—chincachicúni
Huc chhimlleillápi
Pacta ricúhuac—tapucuipúni
Cai quitillápi . . .

After this lyric come nine lines by Ollanta which are probably also sung. These are alternating lines of 5 and 8 syllables, with the same rhyme-scheme as in the preceding verses.

In *Ollanta,* then, we find chiefly *redondillas, décimas,* and *quintillas,* and these forms are so well defined that none can be accidental.[70] It is evident, therefore, that the versification of *Ollanta* is, in the main, an imitation of Spanish prosodic

[68] In Tschudi's text *Tuyallai* is given twice in every line; but it is given only once in the texts of Markham, Pacheco Zegarra, and Middendorf.

[69] Cf. Hills and Morley, *Modern Spanish Lyrics,* p. lxxii.

[70] It is interesting to note that there are no *décimas* in *Ollanta* after the second scene of the first act. It is difficult to write *décimas,* and apparently the author ceased trying to do so.

arrangements. It differs, however, from that of the Spanish secular drama in the absence of *romance*-verse and in the employment of rhymed couplets of 8-syllable lines, and it differs from Spanish prosody generally in that there are numerous blank lines scattered among the *redondillas, quintillas,* and *décimas,* that assonance sometimes replaces consonantal rhyme in these strophes, and that a broken line at the end of a speech is usually not completed in the following speech.

In order to throw light on the versification of *Ollanta,* it is necessary first to compare it with that of other dramatic works in the Quechua language. . . . . Dr. E. W. Middendorf, in his *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen der Keshua-Sprache* (Leipzig, 1891), gives texts of two religious dramas composed in the Quechua language, *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar.*[71] The full title of the first is *Auto sacramental del Hijo Pródigo, del insigne Poeta D. Juan de Espinoza-Medrano, de los Monteros, Arcediano del Insigne Cabildo de la Gran ciudad del Cuzco.* Middendorf states that this "is the oldest of the Quechua dramatic poems still extant."[72] The author, a native of Cuzco, was professor of theology and belles-lettres in the Seminary of San Antonio and dean of the cathedral of Cuzco. He was also called Dr. Lunarejo, on account of a large birthmark. He wrote several works in Spanish, including the *Apologético en favor de D. Luis de Góngora,* dedicated to the Duque de Olivares

[71] In the Preface, Middendorf says that there is another dramatic poem that he has not seen, *La muerte de Atahuallpa,* which is a translation or adaptation of an uninteresting Spanish tragedy in five acts. Markham has also a MS copy of a play by Juan de Espinosa Medrano, entitled *El pobre más rico.* The MS was given him by Julián Ochoa, then rector of the University of Cuzco, in April, 1853. Markham kindly copied and sent a page of the play to the writer of this article. At the head of the page he writes: "Written by Dr. Lunarejo, a Quichua scholar of the 18th century," but he is mistaken as to the date (see below). The lines he sent are octosyllabic, with irregular rhyme.

[72] Introduction, page 3.

(1587–1645).[73] *El hijo pródigo* seems, therefore, to have been written in the fifth decade of the seventeenth century, and both the language and the handwriting point to that period. Middendorf copied the manuscript formerly owned by Dr. Mariano Macedo, but now in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. *El hijo pródigo* is one of many religious dramas composed in the indigenous languages of America to teach scriptural lessons to the Indians. The characters are chiefly allegorical, and there is more poetic imagery and a greater wealth of poetic diction than in *Ollanta* or *Usca Paucar*. But the *gracioso,* Body, indulges occasionally in coarse jests.

The following is a synopsis of the play:

Act I.—A younger son, Christian, demands his share of the paternal estate, and leaves his Father and his home in order to see the world and know good and evil. He sets out accompanied by Body and Youth. They are tempted by World and his servants, Whirlwind and Foam, who bring them to Dame Flesh and her handmaidens, Miss Venal and Miss Rainbow. Christian and Body fall in love with Dame Flesh: the latter's love is physical, while Christian's is spiritual. Lads and maidens dance and sing. God's Word, an emissary from the Father, strives to save Christian, but is repulsed.

Act II.—They gamble to the accompaniment of song. Christian loses all, even Fear of God and Health, and Youth deserts him. All turn against him and Body, and drive them away in nakedness and poverty. God's Word comes again and pleads with Christian to return to his Father. A swine-herd demands food and pay of Fire-Tooth (the Devil), and refuses longer to drive his swine. He is cast out, and the starving Christian takes his place.

Act III.—Enter Body who has been tossed in a blanket and otherwise ill-treated by the retainers of Dame Flesh. In their hunger, Christian and Body eat clay. Again God's Word urges Christian to return to his Father, and again Body resists. At last, Christian, with the aid of God's Word, binds Body on a cross, and all return to the

[73] Middendorf says that this work appeared at Cuzco in 1662. An edition was published in Lima in 1694.

Father, who receives Christian with rejoicing and orders that the fatted swine (!) be killed.

The language of the play is characterized by a considerable number of words that are now obsolete in the spoken language (the proportion of obsolete words is larger than in *Ollanta* or *Usca Paucar*), and the orthography hesitates between the phonology of old Quechua and that of a later period. It has less than a half-dozen words of Spanish origin (cf. *mesa, pintar, sollozar*[?], *vino*), if we except religious terms (cf. *ánima, Cristiano, Cristo, Dios, gracia, Jesús, Jueves Santo*). These words, perhaps a dozen in number, could scarcely be avoided in a religious drama written by a Roman Catholic priest.

The play is in 8-syllable lines, as a rule, but occasional lines are too long or too short by one or more syllables: e.g.—9 syllables (20,[74] 250, 257); 10 syllables (346); 7 syllables (409); 6 syllables (167, 168, 241); 5 syllables (263, 214). Occasional broken lines occur at the beginning (106, 214), in the middle (53, 62), and at the end (29, 123, 154) of a speech. Such lines at the end of a speech are usually not completed in the following speech, but in a few cases they are so completed (78 f., 233 f.). There are more lines of irregular length and more broken lines than in the later dramas, *Usca Paucar* and *Ollanta*. There are some small groups of 6-syllable lines (663–666, 960–962). The alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is generally no more regular than in Spanish octosyllabic verse. In the song, verses 500–515, the lines are of 5 or 6 syllables + 5 or 6 syllables, with six *pies quebrados* of 5 or 6 syllables each, and the rhythmic movement is ternary, so that the verse closely resembles the Old Spanish *arte mayor*.[75] The rhyme

[74] The number is that of the line in Middendorf's edition.

[75] Cf. Hills and Morley's *Modern Spanish Lyrics*, pp. lxxv f.

throughout is assonance in alternate lines, but with not infrequent interposition of two or more blank lines, especially at the beginning of a scene and in rapid dialogue. In the song, verses 500–515, every line is assonated (*á-a*). Assonance occurs as follows: *á-a,* 753 lines; *á-i,* 404; *í-i, 72*; *á-u,* 9; *ú-a,* 8; *á-a* (every line), 16; none, or rare, 194;—total, 1456.

The second play in Middendorf's work is *Usca Paucar,* which is dedicated to Our Lady of Copacabana. The church of Copacabana stands on the rocky peninsula of the same name on the south side of Lake Titicaca. Before the advent of the Christians, Copacabana was a sanctuary, and the early missionaries built a Christian chapel there, as was their custom, for they endeavored to turn to account local traditions and religious usages whenever possible. The chapel was taken over by the Augustinians, who brought to it from Spain an old painting of the Virgin Mary, and the religious drama, *Usca Paucar,* is avowedly an exhortation to worship the Virgin. The author of the play is unknown. Middendorf's text is a copy of a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Leonardo Villar of Lima. Markham has also a manuscript copy,[76] and it is said that there are several copies extant in Cuzco.

The language and the versification indicate that the play is of more recent origin than *El hijo pródigo,* and that it and *Ollanta* were probably composed at about the same time—that is, toward the middle of the eighteenth century. The play is poorly constructed and has little poetical merit. At the beginning it seems reminiscent of the Faust legend, but

[76] Markham's copy was given him by the Sub-Prefect of Paucartambo, in June, 1853. The first twelve lines, of which the writer of this article has a copy, differ considerably from the first lines of Middendorf's edition. Of the first eight lines in Markham's text, only four are found in Middendorf's; while two in Middendorf's text are lacking in Markham's. The rhyme-scheme of these lines is more regular in Markham's text.

later on all resemblance disappears. As in *Ollanta,* the lovers do not meet alone on the stage.

The following is a synopsis of the play:

Act I.—Usca ('Beggar') Paucar, of Inca blood but in poverty, bewails his fate. Quespillo (the *gracioso*) tries to cheer him but in vain. Yuncanina (Lucifer: in a green costume, over which he wears a black cloak, star-spangled[77]) and four attendant spirits speak of their fall from heaven, and make plans to ensnare men. Their one fear is that mankind may be rescued by the Virgin Mary.

Act II.—Usca Paucar and Quespillo, hungry and weary, lie down to sleep. The former is awakened by Yuncanina, who offers wealth and happiness if he will obey him and abjure allegiance to the Virgin Mary, throw away his rosary and never more hear mass. The wretched Usca Paucar signs with his blood a written promise. At Usca Paucar's bidding, Quespillo smites a rock and much gold falls to the ground. An aged man, Choqque Apu, urges his daughter, Ccoritica, to take a husband, but she holds men in scorn (a *Yarahui* is sung). Choqque Apu receives Usca Paucar cordially but Ccoritica repulses him. Usca Paucar bewails his lot, but Yuncanina enters and promises him success in love (Song).

Act III.—Yuncanina makes Ccoritica to fall in love with Usca Paucar, whom he presents, as his brother, to Choqque Apu, and for whom he asks and obtains Ccoritica's hand (Dove song). When they are happily married, Yuncanina and the four spirits plan to separate them lest Ccoritica lead her husband to worship the Virgin Mary. Quespillo overhears them, and as they do not know that men are near, they appear as devils and are recognized as such by Quespillo, who tells Usca Paucar what he has seen and heard. They flee. Ccoritica and maidens appear, and they also flee. The devils pursue (there is much horse-play here). When the devils overtake first the men and then the women, both groups escape by calling on Jesus and the Virgin Mary. A procession of children passes by. With them walks an angel who bears aloft a banner with an image of the Virgin Mary. Usca Paucar and Quespillo fall on their knees before the image and pray for help. Ccoritica, with a cross in her hand, joins her husband. Yuncanina, in fury, casts the writing at Usca Paucar's feet and de-

[77] For illustrations of the devil in a black star-spangled cloak, see Cole's edition of the Mexican play, *Los pastores.*

parts. The angel steps forward and urges all to worship the Virgin Mary.

There are in *Usca Paucar* few words of Spanish origin (cf. *asno; misi,* 'cat'), except such sacerdotal terms as *Adán, casar, cruz, Dios, Jesús, María, misa, rezar, rosario, Virgen.*

Like *El hijo pródigo* and *Ollanta, Usca Paucar* is in 8-syllable lines as a rule, with occasional lines too long or too short by one or more syllables: e.g.—9 syllables (159,[78] 262, 280); 10 syllables (233); 7 syllables (236); 6 syllables (180, 181). The lyrical passage, verses 1534–1557, and verses 1627–1641, have alternating 8- and 5-syllable lines; and the lyrical monologue, verses 1366–1393, has regular 6-syllable lines. There are occasional broken lines at the beginning (776, 918) and at the end (29, 110, 701) of speeches. The latter are usually not completed in the following speech, but in a few cases are so completed (182 f., 1400 f.). There are fewer irregular lines and fewer broken lines than in *El hijo pródigo,* but about as many as in *Ollanta.*

As in *Ollanta,* the rhyme is regularly that of the Spanish *redondilla* (*a b b a*), with occasional rhymed couplets (19–36, 1339–1365), *quintillas* (359–363, 450–454), and *décimas* (98–107, 777–786). In some *redondillas, quintillas,* and *décimas* assonance replaces consonantal rhyme wholly or in part. Two or three consecutive blank lines (139–140) occur occasionally. In the lyrical passage with alternating lines of 8- and 5-syllables (1534–1557), there is no rhyme, and in the lyrical passage with 6-syllable lines (1366–1393), the rhyme is regularly *a b a b, c d c d,* etc. Assonance recurring regularly in alternate lines is not found, unless it be in verses 1717–1722. As a whole, the verses of *Usca Paucar* are remarkably similar to those of *Ollanta.*

It is interesting to compare the versification of these

[78] The number is that of the line in Middendorf's edition.

Quechua dramas with that of an old Easter play in the Spanish language found in New Mexico and Texas, and published by M. R. Cole under the title *Los pastores* (Boston, 1907). Two versions are given which are similar in general outline but differ greatly in detail. One was secured at Rio Grande City, Texas, in 1891, by Captain John G. Bourke from an old cobbler. The other version is a copy, made by Miss Honora De Busk, of an old manuscript that she found in the possession of an aged Mexican at San Rafael, New Mexico, about twelve years ago. Most of the text was arranged as prose, and was put back into metrical form by Mr. Cole. In spite of ill treatment by copyists, the versification of the New-Mexican version is better preserved than that of the Texas version, and I have therefore selected the former for comparison with the Quechua texts.

The New-Mexican play is in 8-syllable lines, as a rule, but with many lines irregular in length. There are a considerable number of broken lines. Those occurring at the end of one speech are sometimes not completed in the following speech (212,[79] 225). There are some groups of 6-syllable lines, and one song (212) is written in lines of 7 + 5 syllables with ternary movement.[80] The rhyme used in the play is chiefly assonance in alternate lines, with occasional rhymed couplets, *redondillas, quintillas,* and *décimas*. In the *laissces* of assonated lines, two or more consecutive blank lines occur not infrequently, as in *El hijo pródigo*. In some *redondillas* and *quintillas,* assonance replaces consonantal rhyme wholly or in part,[81] as in *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar*. As in *Usca Paucar,*

[79] The numbers are those of the pages in Cole's edition. The writer of this article has also in his possession a manuscript copy of the copy made by Miss De Busk.

[80] Note similar songs in *El hijo pródigo* and *Ollanta*.

[81] Ella (allá?) me voy a bestir,
y a seguir la luz que veo,

and to a less degree in *Ollanta,* series of rhymed couplets occur. Thus, on pages 228 and 229, there are 53 rhymed couplets (106 lines).

The defective versification of the plays we have examined may be due to one or more of several causes. The texts may have been altered by copyists. In some of the rapid dialogues, at least, it seems probable that during rehearsals words and phrases were freely added or cut out, and if this be so, it explains in part the difference in texts. The authors may have had little skill in writing verses. Parts of the plays almost certainly give evidence of crude workmanship, and this is not surprising since few Spanish priests in the colonies were true poets, and yet many undertook to compose or adapt *autos sacramentales* in both the Spanish and the Indian languages.[82] The result may have been effective in teaching the Christian doctrine to natives, but it had little poetic value.

In the older Spanish *autos sacramentales* the commonest strophic arrangement was the *quintilla,* which yielded little by little to the *romance*-verse, the *redondilla,* and lastly the *décima,* until it came to hold third place (cf. Calderon's *autos*). In the colonial *autos* of the seventeenth and eighteenth century that we possess, the *quintilla* has third place in point of numbers as in Spain during the same period, and

porque ciertamente creo
que esta noche es de festin.
(Page 222)

No sabemos en certesa
en que tiempo, ni en que dia,
se cumplen las profecias
de aquellos grandes profectas.
(Page 218)

[82] In the Texas version of *Los pastores,* Mr. Cole found passages taken bodily from older Spanish *autos;* but, on the other hand, words of Mexican origin are not infrequent (cf. *tamales,* as a rhyme-word, in a *redondilla* in the New-Mexican version).

this is also true of the three Quechua plays that we have examined. The *auto sacramental,* as the name implies, is in one act, and the Mexican *Los pastores* is thus arranged. But, curiously, both *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar* are divided into three acts. In both plays the division into acts seems forced, as it does not conform to a logical division into parts. It seems probable that these plays were divided into acts by analogy with the secular drama, either by the authors or by copyists. In length they exceed the old Spanish *autos;* but they do not exceed those of Lope and Calderon, nor the Mexican *Los pastores.* Now in the number of lines, in the illogical division into acts,[83] and in the versification, *Ollanta* closely resembles the religious dramas, *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar.* Moreover, in the number of lines, in the versification, and in the general lack of poetic worth, the three resemble the Mexican *Los pastores.* All seem to be the product of the crude workmanship of Spanish missionaries or their disciples. And, although *Ollanta* is presumably a secular play, it also teaches an important element of the Christian doctrine: "Love your enemies."

Let us return to those peculiarities of the versification of *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar* that are not common to the Spanish drama. The absence of *romance*-verse is unimportant. In some secular plays the *romance*-verse plays a minor part,[84] and in the older *autos sacramentales* it was not used at all. There are fewer rhymed couplets of octosyllabic lines

[83] Although in Pacheco Zegarra's edition of *Ollanta* there is no division into acts, both the Pedro Zegarra text (cf. page cxxiv of Pacheco Zegarra's edition) and the Tschudi text are so divided, as well as the Markham text. Pacheco Zegarra omitted the division into acts, gave consecutive numbers to scenes throughout, and furthermore made subdivisions that he entitled "dialogues."

[84] In the dramas of Tirso de Molina only about one-fourth of the lines are in *romance*-verse, and the rest are in *redondillas, quintillas,* etc. Cf. S. G. Morley, *"El uso de las combinaciones métricas en las comedias de Tirso de Molina," Bulletin hispanique,* XVI, pp. 177 f.

in *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar* than in *Los pastores.* In fact many of the rhymed couplets in these plays may well be fragments of *redondillas, quintillas,* or *décimas,* and some evidently are so. Rhymed couplets, however, were used in Spain in religious compositions. In the *Arte poética española,* of Juan Díaz Rengifo (revised edition of 1727), chapter xxii, page 29, the statement is made: "Esta poesia de versos Pareados, ò Parejas, en verso de Redondilla mayor, tiene su consonancia de dos en dos versos." The following lines are quoted from Ledesma, *Conceptos Espirituales a las lágrimas que Christo N. Señor vertió en la Cruz, segunda parte:*

> Las lágrimas de muger
> Por mil cosas pueden ser:
> Mas lágrimas de varon
> O son zelos, o aficion.

And in both religious and secular dramas rhymed couplets in mingled verses of 11 and 7 syllables were not rare.[85] The blank lines scattered among the *redondillas, quintillas,* and *décimas* often seem to be fragments also of broken strophes. Thus, in *Ollanta,* in verses 1398–1430, there is a series of nine *redondillas* three of which lack one line each. And in verses 112–245, there are at least nine *décimas* three of which also lack one line each. These missing lines may cause the appearance of stray blank lines and rhymed couplets. The use of assonance in the rhymed strophes instead of consonantal rhyme is indefensible and points to lack of skill in writing verses; but we have seen that this also occurs in *Los pastores.* The occurrence of broken lines in all the plays we have examined may indicate corruption of the texts, or, possibly, they may be in imitation of the 4-syllable line not

[85] Cf. Calderón, *La primer flor del Carmelo,* Sc. 12 f.; *No hay burlas con el amor,* II, 12 f.; Moreto, *La gran casa de Austria y divina Margarita,* Sc. 1.

seldom interposed among 8-syllable lines in the older religious dramatic compositions.[86]

The three Quechua plays that we have examined are written in Spanish verse-forms. What, then, was the prosody —if there was such—of the ancient indigenous poetry of Peru? Garcilaso says:[87]

. . . supieron hazer versos cortos, y largos con medida de silabas. En ellos ponian sus cantares amorosos con tonadas diferentes, como se ha dicho. Tambien componian en versos las hazañas de sus Reyes, y de otros famosos Incas, y Curacas principales, y los enseñauan a sus descendientes por tradicion, para que se acordassen de los buenos hechos de sus passados, y los imitassen; los versos eran pocos porque la memoria los guardasse, empero muy compendiosos como cifras. No vsaron de consonante en los versos, todos eran sueltos. Por la mayor parte semejauan a la natural compostura Española, que llaman redondillas.

And he quotes from memory this song:

Caylla llapi	Al cantico
Puñunqui	Dormirás;
Chaupituta	Media noche
Samusac	Yo vendré.

In the same chapter, he adds:

En los papeles del padre Blas Valera hallé otros versos, que el llama spondaicos, todos son de a quatro silabas . . . Escriuelos en Yndio y en latin . . . Dizen que vn Inca poeta, y astrologo hizo, y dixo los versos . . . La fabula, y los versos dize el Padre Blas Valera, que halló en los ñudos y cuentas de vnos anales antiguos, que estauan en hilos de diuersas colores, y que la tradicion de los versos, y de la fabula se la dixeron los Yndios contadores, que tenian cargo de los ñudos y cuentas historiales, y que admirado de que los Amautas huuiessen alcançado tanto, escriuió los versos, y los tomó de memoria para dar cuenta dellos.

[86] Cf. *Autos sacramentales* (in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*), pp. 126, 133, 143.

[87] *Op. cit.*, II, 27.

Sumac Ñusta	Pulchra Nimpha	Hermosa donzella
Torallayquim	Frater tuus	Aquese tu hermano[88]
Puyñuy quita	Vrnam tuam	El tu cantarillo
Paquir cayan	Nunc infringit	Lo esta quebrantando,
Hina mantara	Cuius ictus	Y de aquesta causa
Cunuñunun	Tonat fulget	Truena y relampaguea
Ylla pantac	Fulminatque	Tambien cayen rayos.
Camri Ñusta	Sed tu Nimpha	Tu real donzella
Vnuy quita	Tuam limpham	Tus muy lindas aguas
Para munqui	Fundens pluis	Nos darás llouiendo
May ñimpiri	Interdumque	Tambien a las vezes
Chichi munqui	Grandinem, seu	Granizar nos has
Riti munqui	Niuem mittis	Neuarás assi mesmo.
Pacha rurac	Mundi factor	El hazedor del mundo
Pacha camac	Pacha camac	El Dios que le anima
Vira cocha	Vira cocha	El Gran Vira cocha
Cay hinapac	Ad hoc munus	Para aqueste oficio
Churasunqui	Te sufficit	Ya te colocaron
Camasunqui.[89]	Ac praefecit.	Y te dieron alma.

Now, it will be observed that these verses bear no resemblance whatever to the Spanish *redondilla* in the modern meaning of the word. They have no rhyme except the occasional repetition of a suffix. Garcilaso's statement that old Quechua verses did not have rhyme, and that they resembled the Spanish *redondilla,* seems, therefore, a contradiction in terms; but an examination of old works on Spanish prosody throws light on the problem. Rengifo[90] uses the term *verso de redondilla* to denote any line of 8 or fewer syllables. Thus:

"El verso de á Redondilla mayor se compone de ocho sylabas" (page 15); "versos Pareados, ò Parejas, en verso de Redondilla mayor" (page 29); "tercetos con verso de Redondilla mayor" (page

[88] Garcilaso says that he made the Spanish translation directly from the Quechua.

[89] According to Middendorf (*Ollanta Drama,* pp. 57 f.), all the lines should be written as one word, except the 1st, 8th, 14th, 15th, and 17th. He also corrects *'hinamantara'* to *'hinamantas.'*

[90] Cf. *op. cit.*

30); "De la Copla Redondilla, ò Quintilla, . . . se llama Redondilla, porque se canta en los corros donde baylan . . . Compònense de cinco versos" (page 32); "La Redondilla de seys versos que podràn llamarse Sextillas del numero de los versos (como la Quarteta y Quintilla)" (page 33); "No hay cosa mas facil, que hazer un Romance, ni cosa mas dificultosa, si ha de ser qual conviene. Lo que causa la facilidad es la composicion del Metro, que todo es de una Redondilla multiplicada" (page 59); "Todos estos generos de Redondillas, ora Simples, ora Dobladas, ò Mistas, ora Dezimas, son muy à proposito para dezir en ellas agudos conceptos, y para componer Comedias, Loas, y Dialogos" (page 39).

And Sarmiento[91] says of *redondillos:*

"Procuraré decir algo de las quatro principales diferencias de metros, que son Redondillos, Franceses ó Alexandrinos, de Arte mayor, y Hendecasylabos ó de Sonetos" (§ 395); "En esta Octava significa Redondillo todo genero de verso, ó pie, que no tiene mas de ocho sylabas; y así el verso communísimo de ocho sylabas es Redondillo mayor, y menor el de seis" (§ 396); "Los Redondillos, así mayores como menores, son la basa de todos los metros castellanos . . . con particularidad el de ocho sylabas es el mas famoso, mas antiguo, mas natural, y mas comun" (§ 398); "Parece claro . . . que no hay Redondillo, sea de ocho sylabas, de siete, de seis, de cinco, ó de quatro . . . que no tenga su origen visible en nuestros Refranes Castellanos" (§ 415).

Note that Sarmiento generally uses *verso redondillo* instead of *verso de redondilla.*

It is clear that in the time of Garcilaso the term *verso de redondilla* merely meant any line of 8 or fewer syllables. The quatrain that is now known as *redondilla* Rengifo calls *"quarteta."* When, therefore, Garcilaso speaks of rhymeless verses that resemble the Spanish *redondilla,* he means short verses as distinguished from those used in the old Alexandrine, the *Arte mayor,* and the Italian hendecasyllable.

[91] *Obras posthumas del Rmo. P. M. Fr. Martin Sarmiento Benedictino, Memorias para la historia de la poesia y poetas españoles, tomo I,* Madrid, 1775 (but apparently written about 1745).

In 1908 Dr. Richard Pietschmann, librarian of the University of Göttingen, discovered in the Royal Library of Copenhagen a manuscript copy of an old Peruvian chronicle entitled *Primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno, por Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala,* which apparently dates from 1613. The author, according to his own statement, was a descendant of the Incas. The work has valuable pen and ink drawings, and in this respect it is unique. It is written in incorrect Spanish intermixed with Quechua words. Dr. Pietschmann is preparing this work for publication, and in the meantime he has published two articles on the subject: *"Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno des Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, eine peruanische Bilderhandschrift"* (in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Heft 6,* Berlin, 1908), and (in English) "Some Account of the Illustrated Chronicle by the Peruvian Indian, D. Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala (in *Proceedings of the XVIII. International Congress of Americanists,* pages 510 f.).

In these articles Dr. Pietschmann gives nine lyrics in the Quechua language that he found in the chronicle. He has arranged them in verse-lines, but "in the original the songs are written without separation of words or division into lines."[92] As arranged by Dr. Pietschmann, the lines are irregular in length, except in two of the lyrics: in one of these there are two lines of 12 syllables followed by a cry or call; in the other there are alternate lines of 7 and 9 syllables.[93]

[92] Quoted from a letter by Dr. Pietschmann to the writer of this article. In this letter Dr. Pietschmann kindly gave the remaining lines of the song entitled ***haray haraui.***

[93] mana tarushca richo
maquillayquip uaucuycaconqui
mana luycho amicho
cincallayquip uaucuycaconqui
ua yayay turilla
ua yayay turilla.

In nearly all the lyrics regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is much more marked than in *Ollanta*. The age of these lyrics is not known. Two contain Spanish words: *Dios, ciño* (= señor), *rosa*. Dr. Pietschmann considers that the two following show little or no Spanish influence:

yaya condor apauay
tura guaman pusauay
mamallayman uillapuuay
nam pisca punchau
mana micosca
mana upyasca
yaya cachapuric
quilcaapac chasquipuric
cimillayta soncollayta apapullauay
yayallayman mamallayman uillapullauay.[94]

And:

Aucap umanuan upyason,
quironta ualcarisun,
tullunuan pincullusun,
caranpi tinyacusun,
taquecusun.[95]

In several of the lyrics, as the lines have been arranged by Dr. Pietschmann, there is rhyme due to repetition of words or suffixes; but the rhyme is incidental. There is nowhere any definite rhyme-scheme[96] corresponding to the

[94] "Father Condor, take me away; Brother Falcon, bring me away; announce me to my dear mother. For five days already I have not eaten nor drunk a drop. Father Bringer-of-News, Bearer-of-a-Message-stick, Courier, please take away my mouth, my heart. Please announce me to my dear father and my dear mother." These are supposed to be the words of a woman caught in adultery, and bound by her hair to a lofty crag where she is left to die.

[95] "The traitor's skull, we shall drink out of it; his teeth we shall wear as a necklace; from his bones we shall make flutes to play on; on his skin we shall beat the drum; we shall perform our dance." This ferocious song is evidently a threat to traitors.

[96] Except perhaps in the lyric given in a preceding footnote (93). This probably shows Spanish influence.

Spanish *quintilla, redondilla,* rhymed couplets, *romance*-verse, etc.

Dr. Rodolfo Lenz, [97] professor in the Instituto Pedagójico de Santiago de Chile, in a recent letter to the writer of this article, says: "Rhymed verses with regular syllable counting cannot be Indian. Real aboriginal poetry of America has quite a different character. A certain rhythm may exist." He adds:

> There is not the least doubt for me that all the Quechua poetry gathered and published up to date is spurious, made by *criollos* according to Spanish models. I have not yet seen one line of Quechua that is pure Indian literature. The only book in which there are perhaps some pieces of Quechua literature that have undergone only little Spanish influence is *Tarmapap Pacha-Huaraynin. Azucenas Quechuas. Por unos Parias.* Tarma, 1905.[98] There are some prose fables in it that, except the *moraleja,* seem to be of Indian origin. On page 92 there is a *canción de despedida* that runs as follows:

> Uchucachi manatsh cananka rikashaichu!
> Uchucachi manatsh cananka malishiaychu!
> Uchucachi manatsh micuinita mishquichinquichu!
> Uchucachi mircapatchi yarparacushunqui!
> Uchucachi, ayhualá! ayhualarac!![99]

There is only a rhyme caused by two equal verbal forms, and no regular number of syllables.

[97] Author of *Chilenische Studien,* Marburg, 1892–1893; *"Cantos araucanos en Moluche i Pehuenche chileno con Introducción sobre la poesía araucana,"* in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile, tomo XCVII,* Santiago de Chile, 1897; *Diccionario etimolójico de las voces chilenas derivadas de lenguas indíjenas americanas,* Santiago de Chile, 1905–1910; *et al.*

[98] There is a copy of this work in the library of The Hispanic Society, New York City.

[99] Uchucachi (name of a dog), ya no volveré a verte!
Uchucachi, ya no te probaré!
Uchucachi, no condimentarás mi comida!
Uchucachi, te extrañará mi fiambre!
Uchucachi, adiós, adiós para siempre!!
—(Translation of the author)

In his *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen der Keshua-Sprache,* Middendorf gives three collections of lyrics in the Quechua language. The first consists of *Romances de la pasion de Nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo,* which he found in an old volume entitled *Directorio espiritual en la lengua Española y quichua, general del Inca, compuesto por el Padre Pablo de Prado,* Lima, 1660. These Christian *"romances"* are nine in number. Seven are in octosyllabic verses: five with assonance in alternate lines, one in *redondillas,* and one in crude assonating *redondillas.* One *"romance"* is in 5-syllable lines, arranged in quatrains. In 33 quatrains, out of 63, two lines have consonantal rhyme, due chiefly to the repetition of verbal suffixes. Curiously, every quatrain ends in *-i.* And one *"romance"* is in stanzas of six lines of 6 syllables and one line of 9 syllables, with traces of crude assonance. In most of these *"romances,"* there are many lines irregular in length.

The second collection consists of sacred songs, some of which Middendorf collected here and there in his travels, and some he found in a volume entitled *Antologia sagrada en Español, Quichua y Aimará, por el cura C.F.B.,* Oruro, 1889. The Quechua songs are in the present-day speech of Upper Peru, though some may be old. They are eleven in number. Eight are in octosyllabic verses: five in quatrains with consonantal rhyme of the second and fourth lines, one in *redondillas,* one in stanzas of six lines with the rhyme-scheme *— a — a b b,* and one in quatrains with rhyme of the second and fourth lines or with all lines blank. Two songs are in 6-syllable lines, in quatrains, and, as a rule, with consonantal rhyme of the second and fourth lines,[100] and one

[100] The eleventh song illustrates a peculiarity of Spanish-Quechua prosody that is often to be observed. Thus, consonantal rhyme sometimes appears in such crude forms as: *-aspa, -ispa; -achun, -uchun;* etc. This is not rare in *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar.*

is in alternating lines of 6 and 5 syllables, mostly blank. Most of the lyrics in these two collections are good examples of *"idioma indígena y arte poético europeo."*[101] They contain almost no words of Spanish origin, except some sacerdotal terms, but the versification shows Spanish influence.

The third collection of lyrics in the volume consists, according to Middendorf's classification, of *yarahuis,*[102] longer poems, and elegies. The lyrics in this collection are fifty-two in number. Of these, thirty-six have no rhyme;[103] nine have irregular or occasional rhyme, three are arranged in quatrains with consonantal rhyme of the second and fourth lines, two have complicated rhyme-schemes,[104] one has assonance in alternate lines, and one has assonated *redondillas.* Twenty lyrics are in 8-syllable lines, one has alternate lines of 8 or 9 and 5 syllables (with ternary movement), one has two lines of 8 to 10 syllables followed by one of 5 syllables, six have 6-syllable lines, one has lines of 5 or 6 syllables, ten have 5-syllable lines (with ternary movement), one has alternating 5- and 3-syllable lines, one has two lines of 5 syllables followed by one of 3 syllables, two have alternating lines of 5 + 5 and 3 syllables, and in nine the lines are quite irregular

[101] Francisco Pimentel (*Historia crítica de la poesía en México* [Mex., 1892], p. 124) says: "... de la poesía indo-hispana diremos que se compuso de dos elementos: generalmente un idioma indígena y arte poético europeo."

[102] Or *yaraví.* Middendorf says (p. 220): "The *yarahui* was the oldest form of Peruvian poetry. The word is derived from the verb *yarahuiy* or *'harahuiy,* 'to tell or invent tales,' and those members of the learned society of the Amautas to whom was entrusted the cultivation of poetic art, that is, the composition of poems and their preservation in memory by the aid of the *quipus,* were called *'harahuecs.* Originally all poems, even those of historic content, were called *yarahuis.* Now only love-songs are known by this name." This last fact seems due to the disappearance of all old *yarahuis* except short love-songs.

[103] One of these without rhyme was written in 1834 and is of historic content. The lines are irregular in length.

[104] One, No. 41, is a long modern poem of 200 lines, in stanzas with the rhyme-scheme *a b b c a d d c.* The lines are octosyllabic.

in length. In the verses with counted syllables, many lines are too long or too short. In some of the shorter unrhymed *yarahuis* the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is noticeably regular.[105] There are few words of Spanish origin,[106] but the ideas are sometimes Spanish or European.

In the *Antología ecuatoriana, Cantares del pueblo ecuatoriano, compilación formada por Juan León Mera* (Quito, 1892), there are four "popular" lyrics in the Quechua dialect of Ecuador. Two, in octosyllabic lines, are arranged in quatrains, with consonantal rhyme or assonance in the second and fourth lines; one is in 5-syllable lines, with irregular *á-i* assonance and occasional consonantal rhyme; and one has, in each stanza, four lines of 8 syllables, two of 4 syllables, and one of 8, with the rhyme-scheme — *a* — *a c c c*. The volume contains also two Quechua lyrics by Dr. Luis Cordero. These are in octosyllabics, with assonance in alternate lines (*á-a* in one and *ú-a* in the other). The work contains also some short lyrics with alternate lines of Spanish and Quechua, or with Spanish and Quechua words mingled irregularly. Several prosodic arrangements common to Spanish verses appear in these lyrics. In one song a Spanish word rhymes with a Quechua word.[107]

[105] Thus, in No. 10:

Pucu-pucuc quesampichus
mamallay-cca huachahuarccan,
cunan hina musphanaypac
llapa runac muchuchisccan,
mana picpa cchuyacunan
tampi-tampi purinaypac ...

Middendorf says that this song is very popular. One wonders whether some of the lyrics in this collection should be arranged in lines at all. There are certainly some of the unrhymed that could be arranged equally well in lines of almost any length.

[106] Cf. *Dios, paloma, ni—ni.*

[107] León Mera says (*op. cit.*, page vi): "Va desapareciendo la manera híbrida usada antiguamente por nuestro pueblo, que alternaba en sus cuartetas

Tschudi[108] quotes eight lines from a Quechua song, said to be "popular," which a Herr von Bock found in Bolivia. They are in quatrains of octosyllabics, with consonantal rhyme of the second and fourth lines of each quatrain. Sir Clements R. Markham, in a letter[109] to the writer of this article, says: "I have twenty songs which were in the same manuscript from which I copied *Ollantay* at Laris, but they are not ancient"; and he adds: "My impression is that in the earliest songs rhyme was not used, or was merely accidental: certainly rhymes occur occasionally, but no trouble appears to have been taken to make them continuous."

The distinguished Peruvian musician, Don Daniel Alomía Robles, has recently traveled extensively among the Indians of Upper Peru and has made a collection of their songs with musical notation. At a meeting held in Lima, February 21, 1910, several musicians read articles and played and sang the songs collected by Señor Alomía Robles.[110] Don Alberto Villalba Muñoz, in his address, stated that the primitive musical scale of the Indians of the Sierra has but five notes,

versos españoles y quechuas." He cites the following as an example of such verses:

Cuando estuve enamorado,
Shunguhuan huacarcanimi;
Ahora que te he olvidado,
Shunguhuan asicunimi.

The Quechua words mean:

Con el corazón lloraba.
Con el corazón me río.

Note that all (both Quechua and Spanish) lines are octosyllabic.

[108] *Op. cit.*, pp. 201–202.

[109] Dated July 10, 1913.

[110] An account of the session is given in a pamphlet entitled *Conferencia literario-musical dada en el salón de actuaciones ante S.E. el presidente de la República el 21 de febrero de 1910*, Lima, 1910. In a letter to *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires, dated May 3, 1913, Señor Alomía Robles says that he has collected "143 aires ó melodías, desarrolladas estrictamente dentro de la gama incaica con su letra en quechua ... A estos aires debo agregar los 167 que yo he clasificado de coloniales por desarrollarse en la gama moderna."

and said further: "Las melodías antiguas son generalmente de ritmo libre. El compás es un regulador moderno." Don Felipe Barreda y Laos said, in part:

> En la época colonial, la música indígena sufre notablemente la influencia española . . . La religión católica, impuesta a los vencidos, impresionó profundamente el alma indígena, y reflejó su influencia en el arte; se compusieron canciones religiosas y pastoriles, que se bailaban en la pascua de navidad, muy semejantes a los villancicos españoles.[111]

And:

> La influencia española se ha dejado sentir en los bailes indígenas, principalmente, en el de los *negritos* y los *diablos* que se bailan en la Sierra . . . La guitarra, el arpa, la bandurria, el violín, son usados con toda frecuencia en la Sierra . . . El yaraví antiguo ha dado origen a los *tristes* de nuestros días, que conservan el fondo indígena, y que son de una melancolía que armoniza con su nombre: hay en ellos elementos de música española.

Through the courtesy of Don Ricardo Palma, four of the lyrics collected in the Sierra by Señor Alomía Robles were sent to the writer of this article. In these lyrics there is no rhyme except that caused by a rare repetition of a word or a suffix. As arranged by the collector, one is in 6-syllable lines, one in 4-syllable lines, one in lines of 6 or 7 syllables, and the last in lines of 4, 5, or 6 syllables. The second and fourth, in the nearly regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, resemble the longer lyric given by Garcilaso.

[111] Garcilaso says: "Quando yo sali del Peru, que fue el año de mil y quinientos y sesenta dexe en el Cozco cinco Yndios que tañian flautas diestrissimamente por qual quiera libro de canto de organo, que les pusiessen delante, eran de Iuan Rodriguez de Villa Lobos, vezino que fue de aquella ciudad. En estos tiempos que es ya el año de mil y seyscientos y dos me dizen que ay tantos Yndios tan diestros en musica para tañer instrumentos que donde quiera se hallan muchos." (*Op. cit.*, II, 26.) And: "Dizen me, que en estos tiempos se dan mucho los Mestizos a componer en Yndio estos versos, y otros de muchas maneras, assi a lo diuino como a lo humano." (*Op. cit.*, II, 27.)

What, then, is the prosody, if it may be called such, of aboriginal Quechua poetry? In the first place, there is no rhyme; but neither did Greek and Latin verses have rhyme. The syllables were usually not counted; but the counting of syllables is peculiar to modern Romance verse, and much poetry has been composed the world over without it. The fact is that Quechua prosody is most primitive: there may be a certain rhythm due to the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables which may, or may not, be broken occasionally by a ternary "foot," and that is all. Quechua poetry was composed to be sung, and some of the songs have regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables throughout, which may indicate that they were sung to the accompaniment of dancing, or marching, or manual labor. In others, and especially in love-songs, the succession of stresses is less regular, and it is probably these to which Señor Villalba Muñoz refers when he speaks of "free rhythm," by which he may mean that they are sung without the definite rhythm of modern European music.[112] There is no trace of any abo-

[112] Miss Alice C. Fletcher, in *The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony* (in *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 2,* Washington, 1904), says of songs sung by the Pawnee Indians: "The unit of time is marked by pulsations of the voice or by drum beats, and the words are found bent by elisions or stretched by added vocables to make them conform to the musical measure" (p. 282); thus in the song given on page 245, the words *we ra ti ka riki* ('now is he within standing') are sung: *ho-o-o! we ra ti ka riki ra riki hi!* Excellent examples of the interposition of meaningless syllables in songs are given by Professor Franz Boas in *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (in *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895,* Washington, 1897, pp. 665 f.). And Miss Frances Densmore, in her work on *Chippewa Music,* II (in *Bulletin 53 of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Washington, 1913), says: "The words of Chippewa songs are frequently changed to conform to the music, syllables being omitted or added, and meaningless syllables introduced" (p. 2). She also says that "the rhythm of the first measure is rarely continued throughout the song. . . . . The transcriptions show in many instances a change of time with almost every measure" (p. 9).

Now, if these phenomena are found in the aboriginal songs of South America, the words of a song may not indicate the number of syllables that were sung or what the syllables were.

riginal verses in *Ollanta.* Barranca and others have held that *Ollanta* contains fragments of ancient Quechua poetry. If this be true, the "fragments" have been worked over and put into Spanish verse-forms.

III

Tschudi and Pacheco Zegarra hold that *Ollanta* was reduced to writing in the sixteenth century, after the pacification of the country; but Middendorf showed conclusively that none of the known texts could be of earlier date than the eighteenth century. Markham maintains that *Ollanta* was handed down by oral tradition till the second half of the eighteenth century, when it was reduced to writing. As we have seen, there is no record of the existence of the play before it was produced by Dr. Valdés of Tinta. No one can say positively that it was not thus handed down by word of mouth during a space of two hundred and fifty years; but, on the other hand, there is no evidence that it was. It seems scarcely conceivable that a play such as *Ollanta* should have been transmitted orally during so long a period. If it were a great national epic or an exalted religious poem, it might have been thus preserved; but *Ollanta,* at the best, is a mediocre secular drama of intrigue, somewhat incoherent and often frivolous.[113]

[113] To illustrate the frivolous nature of much of *Ollanta,* the opening words of the first act are given:

OLLANTA. Piqui-Chaqui, did you see the charming Cusi-Coyllur at her home?

PIQUI-CHAQUI. May the Sun-God forbid my going there. Are you not frightened at the thought that she is the king's daughter?

OLLANTA. Even if she is, I shall love this tender dove. It is my desire to shelter her alone in my heart.

PIQUI-CHAQUI. The Devil has made you mad, or you are losing your head. There are girls everywhere. You are too much involved now. Some day the king will hear of your plans; he will have your head cut off, and will throw you into the fire.

OLLANTA. Do not discourage me, or I shall strangle you on the spot. Do not speak to me about that again, or I will tear you to pieces.

The language of the texts is that of the eighteenth century.[114] If *Ollanta* was composed at this time, or if it was handed down by oral tradition during a space of more than two hundred years, in either case we should expect to find a considerable number of Hispanicisms; but there are, in fact, very few. If the play was first composed in the eighteenth century, its author evidently took pains to avoid words of Spanish origin that have crept into modern Quechua, and to do this so successfully he must have been a scholar who recognized Spanish words in Quechua dress when he saw them. It is probable that, under the conditions that have prevailed in Peru, if a Quechua drama should come down through two centuries in the mouths of the people, more Hispanicisms would creep in than would appear if the play were later written by one who consciously sought to avoid them.[115] In this connection it is noteworthy that there are no more Hispanicisms in *El hijo pródigo* or *Usca Paucar* than in *Ollanta,* if we except the sacerdotal terms in those religious dramas.

Piqui-Chaqui. Well, drag me along like a dead dog, but do not say to me every year and day and night: "Go, Piqui-Chaqui, look for her" (literal translation of Middendorf's version).

Would such words as these have been preserved intact for two hundred and fifty years by word of mouth!

[114] Middendorf (*Ollanta Drama,* p. 109) says that the Tschudi and Markham texts are in the dialect now spoken in the neighborhood of Cuzco. Dr. Pietschmann, in a recent letter to the writer of this article, calls attention to the word *cachapuric* in the lyric beginning *yaya condor* (found in Huaman Poma's chronicle). The word has there the old meaning of 'bearer of a message,' while in *Ollanta,* verse 74, it has the modern meaning of a 'go-between' or 'pander.'

[115] So far as the language is concerned, it is not impossible that *Ollanta* was reduced to writing soon after the conquest, and that successive copyists changed older for newer forms and introduced the few Hispanicisms. But there is no evidence in favor of this theory, and none of the partisans of the antiquity of *Ollanta* has suggested it, so far as I know. Certainly no manuscript older than the eighteenth century has been published, nor has mention of any such been made.

The following Hispanicisms have been noted in *Ollanta:*

In Tschudi's text, verses 261–266, occurs a passage, of which the following is a translation:

PIQUI-CHAQUI. I had fallen asleep, and I dreamed a dream of ill omen.
OLLANTA. Of what?
PIQUI-CHAQUI. Of an ass tied fast.
OLLANTA. It was you yourself.
PIQUI-CHAQUI. That is why my ears have grown so long.

The line in which the word for "ass" is found runs as follows:

Huc asnuta huatascata.[116]

In the place of *asnuta,* Markham's text has *atoccta,* 'fox,' and an additional line that runs: "therefore my nose scents better." The "Bolivian" manuscript has *llamata,* 'llama,' which Tschudi adopts in his second edition. Pacheco Zegarra adopts the word for 'fox': Middendorf retains that of 'ass,' which certainly keeps better the point of the joke.

Verses 560–562 of Tschudi's text read, in translation: "Piqui-Chaqui (who has been searching through a deserted house),—I found everything quiet. I looked everywhere: not even a cat was there." The form of the word expressing 'cat' is here *misillapas* < *misi.* Garcilaso,[117] speaking of cats, says: "Los Yndios los llaman micitu, porque oyeron dezir á los Españoles miz, miz, quando los llamauan." Markham's text has *allcollapas,* 'dog,' which Tschudi accepts for his second edition with this naïve statement of his reasons for doing so: "because the ancient Peruvians did not have house-cats."[118] Middendorf retains the word for 'cat,' since, he says,[119] cats, and not dogs, might be found in a deserted house.

[116] *Asnuta* is the accusative case of *asnu* < Span. *asno.*

[117] *Op. cit.,* IX, 20. [118] They did have dogs. [119] *Ollanta Drama,* p. 140.

In Tschudi's (v. 1304) and Markham's texts occurs a derivative of the word meaning 'to marry,' *casaracurccani* < Spanish *casar,* which came into common use after the conquest. The "Bolivian" manuscript has *ccascanaccurccani,* 'to unite,' which Tschudi adopted in his second edition.

In many verses of all three texts occurs the exclamation *"ay!"* (Tschudi, v. 523), which is probably of Spanish origin.

Middendorf[120] calls attention to Spanish idioms that have been adopted by Quechua, and which appear in the texts of *Ollanta,* such as the literal equivalents of *dar gusto, ser cuchillo de alguno, no hay remedio, voy muerto,* etc.

The number of references in *Ollanta* to things or ideas of Spanish, or at least of European, origin is somewhat larger than the number of Spanish words. Thus, in Tschudi, verses 15–17 say: "Some day the Inca will learn of your intentions, and he will have your head cut off." Middendorf says decapitation was probably not known to the ancient Peruvians; that it is even doubtful if they had any instrument which could serve this purpose.[121]

In Tschudi, v. 30, occurs the well-known expression: "death with his" (or "her) scythe."

In the "Song of the Unknown" much is made of the pink and white complexion of the lady,[122] although such a complexion is unknown among the dusky Indian maidens. Dr. Pietschmann[123] says that *siclla,* the name of a blue flower, is used as an appellation of a maiden.

[120] *Ibid.,* p. 143.

[121] But Cieza de León, *op. cit., 2a parte,* mentions decapitation. Cf. chapters xxvi and lxiv. And Huaman Poma gives a picture of a kind of halberd or battle-axe of copper, with a long handle. See Dr. Pietschmann's article in English on Huaman Poma's chronicle.

[122] Cf. "the white of her beautiful ear"; "the *achancarai*" (a red flower) "blooms on her face in the midst of snow"; "white alternates with red"; "her soft neck is as white as snow."

[123] Cf. article in English on Huaman Poma's chronicle.

In one of the dialogues we read:

PIQUI-CHAQUI. You give freely to all, and with me alone you are niggardly.

OLLANTA. Why do you wish anything?

PIQUI-CHAQUI. Why? For this and for that. To offer clothes to others; that others may see that I have silver,[124] and respect me.

All authorities agree that the ancient Peruvians did not use gold or silver as money.[125]

Rumiñahui says that all Cuzco mourns the death of Pachacutic, and "all are dressed in black."[126] Now, gray, and not black, was the color distinctive of mourning in ancient Peru. Cf. Garcilaso:[127] "los Reyes lo mas del tiempo vestian de negro, y el de luto dellos era el vellori, color pardo que llaman."

In Tschudi, v. 1287, we read: ". . . bound with these iron chains." The ancient Peruvians did not use iron.[128] Tschudi translates this: ". . . mit ehernen Ketten," and states in a note that the word *quellay* was employed to denote iron after the coming of the Spaniards. Middendorf[129] considers this passage of undoubtedly modern origin. Pacheco Zegarra translates "attachée à cette chaîne de fer."

And Piqui-Chaqui says: "Ask me and give me something, and I will tell you," to which Rumiñahui replies: "I will give you one stake with which to beat you and three with which

[124] Tschudi, v. 661. Pacheco Zegarra translates the last clause: "Je voudrais sonner mon argent: ça donne de la considération."

[125] Cf. Garcilaso, *op. cit.*, V, 7; and VI, 1 and 2.

[126] Tschudi, v. 1064.

[127] *Op. cit.*, VI, 21; cf. also IX, 6.

[128] Cf. Garcilaso, *op. cit.*, II, 18: "no supieron sacar el hierro aunque tuvieron minas del." And, II, 28: "de quantas herramientas usan los de por aca (in Spain) para sus oficios, no alcançaron los del Peru mas de la hacha y açuela, y essas de cobre."

[129] *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

to hang you." Does not this refer to the medieval European conception of the gallows?[130]

Neither Garcilaso nor any of the chroniclers make mention of an Ollanta, or Ollantai, who was a military chieftain or official of any kind under the Incas.[131] Palacios, in his article in *El Museo erudito,* speaks of Ollanta as probably a native of Tampu and chieftain of his district, who by courage and talent rose to the post of governor of a province, but Palacios does not cite authorities.

Pachacutic, or Pachacuti, was a powerful Inca of the first half of the fifteenth century. Acording to the drama, Thupac Yupanqui was the son and successor of Pachacutic; but, according to Garcilaso and most of the chroniclers, he was the son of the Inca Yupanqui.[132] In the third act of the drama, the young Inca, Thupac Yupanqui, leaves Ollanta in charge of the government and sets out to conquer the Chancas; although, according to all accounts, the Chancas had been completely subjugated during the reign of Pachacutic. But these anachronisms, if they be such, would not be surprising, even if the drama were composed in the first or second decade of the sixteenth century, as Tschudi and Pacheco Zegarra suppose—that is, nearly a century after the events described.

There are, however, certain passages in *Ollanta* which differ so markedly from the accounts of the chroniclers that

[130] *Ibid.,* IV, 19, speaks of execution by hanging, but does not speak of the gallows.

[131] Markham, *The Incas of Peru,* p. 335, refers to evidence taken by the Viceroy Toledo, in 1570–1571, from some two hundred witnesses, one of whom was named Ullantay. This seems to be the only mention in writing of a name similar to Ollanta before the appearance of the drama.

[132] Huaman Poma, in his list of Incas, gives Topa Inga Yupanqui as the son of Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui. According to Huaman Poma, therefore, Pachacutic and Yupanqui were one and the same person (cf. Dr. Pietschmann's article in German).

it seems highly improbable that they should have been composed in the time of the Incas. Thus, Ollanta, who is described as one of lowly origin,[133] finally marries the sister of the Inca Thupac Yupanqui, and is appointed viceroy when the king leaves on a military expedition; although all authorities agree that in ancient Peru these honors could not come to one of plebeian origin. But to this charge against the historical accuracy of the drama, answer may be made that in several places it seems to be indicated that Ollanta was of royal blood. He is several times called *auqui* (Tschudi, verses: 246, 286, 400), a term applied only to princes of the royal blood. He is said to be the governor of the province of Antisuyu (Tschudi, verses: 152, 495), one of the four divisions of the empire, over which according to Garcilaso[134] only *"Incas legítimos en sangre"* could rule. And, after his rebellion, his followers proclaim him their Inca. It seems impossible to reconcile this inconsistency of statement. If Ollanta had been of royal blood, the king would doubtless have been quite willing to give to this powerful chieftain one of his daughters to wife, but then there could have been no drama. The motif of the play is the ambition of a vassal who aspires to marry the Inca's daughter, and who rebels when his suit is scornfully rejected.

The Elect Virgins in the convent at Cuzco were subject to the strictest seclusion. They were rarely permitted to leave the building, and then only under escort; and they could be visited only by the queen and her daughters. Garcilaso says:

[133] Ollanta asks the high priest: "Will he (the Inca) reject me since I am not of Inca blood" (Tschudi, verses 237–238). Ollanta says to the king: "Why have you raised me up from plebeian rank?" (Tschudi, v. 480), and the king answers: "O, you are of lowly origin" (Tschudi, v. 510).

[134] *Op. cit.*, II, 15.

"Viuian en perpetua clausura hasta acabar la vida con guarda de perpetua virginidad, no tenian locutorio, ni torno, ni otra parte alguna por donde pudiessen hablar, ni ver hombre, ni muger sino eran ellas mismas unas con otras, porque dezian que las mugeres del Sol no auian de ser tan communes que las viessen nadie; y esta clausura era tan grande, que aun el propio Inca no queria gozar del preuilegio, que como Rey podia tener de las ver, y hablar; Porque nadie se atreuiesse a pedir semejante preuilegio. Sola la Coya, que es la Reyna, y sus hijas tenian licencia de entrar en la casa, y hablar con las encerradas asi moças como viejas" (IV, 2). ". . . siendo la principal intención de aquellos Reyes Incas que en esta (casa) de las monjas no entrassen hombres . . . Y porque las virgenes de aquella casa del Cozco eran dedicadas para mugeres del Sol, auian de ser de su misma sangre, quiero dezir hijas de los Incas, assi del Rey como de sus deudos los ligitimos, y limpios de sangre agena, porque de las mezcladas con sangre agena que llamamos bastardas, no podian entrar en esta casa del Cozco, de la qual vamos ablando: y la razon desto dezian que, como no se sufria dar al Sol muger corrupta sino virgen, assí tampoco era licito darse la bastarda con mezcla de sangre agena" (IV, 1). And Palacios says (*op. cit.*): "La casa de las Vírgenes escogidas . . . que hubo en el Ccoscco, y ocupaba el sitio en que hoy está el monasterio de Santa Catalina de Siena . . . con tal estrictez en su recogimiento que la escogida que recibían en él, no volvía á ver, oir, ó hablar ni aun con sus propios padres, siendo sólo permitido á la reina ó Ccoya y á las Infantas ó Ñustas de la familia real, el entrar y visitar aquella casa."[135]

And yet, in *Ollanta,* a girl, whose father was unknown, wanders into the convent and out again with the greatest freedom; and near the end of the play, the king and his retinue enter the convent at the request of this unknown girl, to see a strange woman in chains!

The Amautas of ancient Peru formed a learned corporation, that directed the education, or training, of the priests and nobles; and the members of this corporation were the poets and historians of the empire, in so far as there could be historians and poets in a people that did not possess the

[135] Cf. also Cieza de León, *op. cit., 2a parte,* chap. xxvii.

art of writing. Middendorf[136] says well that "the poets of the Incas were the legal experts and the guardians of social and religious customs." It is most improbable that they should have composed a drama which, in such important particulars, stands thus in contradiction to established usage. *Ollanta* must have been composed at a time when the conditions that prevailed under the Incas were largely forgotten.

As *Ollanta* resembles the old Spanish drama in technique, so it does in spirit, with one notable exception. The exception is that the lovers do not meet alone on the stage.[137] The chroniclers tell us that the Inca gave wives to the princes of the blood, and even chieftains of districts selected wives for their subjects. If this be true, love-making as portrayed in the modern drama was unknown in ancient Peru, and the author of *Ollanta* was evidently aware of the fact.

On the other hand, *Ollanta* would seem to resemble the older Spanish drama in several important particulars. In the first scenes the *galán* and *gracioso* give the initial exposition of the argument of the play. The *gracioso* is not unlike those of Lope de Vega, Calderon, and other dramatists of the *Siglo de Oro*.[138]

The *coup-de-théâtre* in the third act, when the king pardons all and gives them his blessing, seems reminiscent of the drama of Christian Europe. And when Yma-Sumac

[136] *Ollanta Drama,* p. 135.

[137] Nor do they in the Christian drama *Usca Paucar,* although Usca Paucar falls in love and marries.

[138] We have already had the *gracioso's* joke of the ass. Some others follow. When Ollanta boasts: "If the whole land rises against me, my arm will strike down all. My hands, my feet, are clubs; my axe shall hew them all"; Piqui-Chaqui rejoins: "And even I might have given the man a kick, if he hadn't been armed." In the solemn moment when the prisoners are brought in chains before the king to be judged, the latter, looking at Piqui-Chaqui ("Flea-Foot"), says: "Who is this?" Piqui-Chaqui answers: "In every valley there are many fleas which bite people. One drives them away with warm water. Let that be my punishment."

throws herself before the king and demands justice, one is reminded of Corneille's Chimène or her prototype in Guillén de Castro's drama. And finally, at the end of the play, all the important actors, save one who died, are gathered on the stage.

IV

With regard to the existence of some sort of drama among the ancient Peruvians, Garcilaso says:

"No les faltó abilidad a los Amautas, que eran los philosophos, para componer comedias y tragedias, que en dias y fiestas solennes representauan delante de sus Reyes, y de los señores que asistian en la Corte. Los representantes no eran viles, sino Incas y gente noble hijos de Curacas, y los mismos Curacas y capitanes hasta maeses de campo: porque los autos de las tragedias se representassen al propio, cuyos argumentos siempre eran de hechos militares, de triunfos y victorias, de las hazañas y grandezas de los Reyes passados, y de otros heroicos varones. Los argumentos de las comedias eran de agricultura, de hazienda, de cosas caseras, y familiares" (II, 27). "La misma abilidad muestran para las sciencias si se las enseñassen, como consta por las comedias, que en diversas partes han representado, porque es assi que algunos curiosos religiosos de diuersas religiones, principalmente de la Compañia de Iesus por aficionar a los Yndios a los misterios de nuestra redencion, han compuesto comedias para que las representassen los Yndios porque supieron que las representauan en tiempo de sus Reyes Incas" (II, 28).

And Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, in *Antigüedades del Peru* (*ca.* 1620) mentions types of dramatic compositions, which Markham[139] translates as 'joyous representations,' 'farces,' and 'tragedies.' But neither Garcilaso nor Salcamayhua gives the title of any play or the name of any dramatic author, nor do they say whether the plays were in prose or in verse. If there were plays, they could not have been written, for the ancient Peruvians had no

[139] *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

system of writing. It is possible that quipus may have been used to aid memory. This curious instrument was especially suited for reckonings and statistical tables. "In comparison with writing by letters, they" (the quipus) "were only a quite imperfect makeshift. For even if it was possible with intelligence and patience to express facts, commands, and even ideas, the form of the idea,—its wording,—could not be rendered."[140] If quipus were used by the Amautas to help them remember dramas, none of these quipus was preserved, or at least there is no record of any having been deciphered after the conquest. Don Ricardo Palma[141] in a letter[142] to the writer of this article says:

"Yo no creo que en la época de los Incas hubiéramos tenido literatura teatral; para mí el famoso drama fué escrito en las postrimerías del siglo XVIII por el cura de Tinta. Fíjese usted en que las reminiscencias del teatro griego abundan en la obra, como lo comprueba la introducción de coros, y que la primera escena no desdice de las comedias de Lope, Calderón y Tirso, pues galán y gracioso hacen en la primera escena lo que se llama la exposición inicial del argumento. . . .[143] En conclusión, y lamentando la imposibilidad en

[140] Middendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[141] The foremost man of letters in Peru, till 1912 director of the National Library at Lima, and author of *Tradiciones peruanas* (Lima, 1875 and 1899), *Mis últimas tradiciones* (Barcelona, 1906), *et al.*

[142] Dated January 10, 1913, at Miraflores, Lima, Peru.

[143] Here he speaks of General Mitre's article (*"Ollantay. Estudio sobre el drama quichua,"* in *La Nueva Revista de Buenos Aires* [1881], by General Bartolomé Mitre), saying that Mitre *"opina, como yo, que los peruanos no tuvieron teatro."* In this article General Mitre advances many reasons for believing *Ollanta* to be modern. Among those not already given by others are the following: *Ollanta* is a drama of *capa y espada;* it puts emphasis on conjugal fidelity, dislike of polygamy, and humanity to the vanquished; rebellion is condoned; the High Priest refers to the broken thread of destiny; the *yaraví* is reminiscent of the Song of Solomon; the wit of the *gracioso* is Andalusian. In the introduction to his English translation of *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru* by Pedro Cieza de León (London, 1883), Markham attempts, in a humorous vein, to answer Mitre, whom he accuses of using faulty texts, and adds that "the true version must be considered as that which excludes all words and passages which are not common to *all* the older manuscripts."

que me hallo[144] de discurrir sobre el tema, apuntándole las muchas razones en que fundo mi opinión de que en el tiempo de los Incas no existió literatura teatral, me reitero . . ." In a later letter[145] Señor Palma adds: "Mal podía haber en el Perú anterior a la conquista vida literaria, pues ni siquiera sabíamos escribir. Desconocíamos el uso de la pluma, y no teníamos alfabeto. Lo del famoso drama *Ollanta* no pasa de una superchería del cura Valdés. Ya la crítica lo ha comprobado suficientemente. Los Peruanos no teníamos ni noticia del uso del papel, de la pluma y de la tinta, antes de que viniera Don Francisco Pizarro a conquistarnos, y fué a fines del siglo XVIII cuando se le ocurrió al cura Valdés hacernos hasta dramaturgos."

It is most improbable that the ancient Peruvians, without a system of writing and, consequently, without a literature, should have composed dramas like those of modern Europe. They may well have had ballads of historical content, and they may have had scenic pageants accompanied by song and dance. Cieza de León, Garcilaso, and others, speak of ballads. Thus, Cieza de León:

"Y es tambien de saber, que fué costumbre dellos y ley muy usada y guardada, de escoger cada uno, en tiempo de su reynado, tres ó cuatro hombres ancianos de los de su nación, á los cuales, viendo que para ello eran hábiles y suficientes, les mandaba que todas las cosas que sucediesen en las provincias durante el tiempo de su reynado, ora fuesen prósperas, ora fuesen adversas, las tuviesen en la memoria, y dellas hiciesen y ordenasen cantares, para que por aquel sonido se pudiese entender en lo futuro haber así pasado; con tanto questos cantares no pudiesen ser dichos ni publicados fuera de la presencia del Señor."[146] And Garcilaso says: "Los Incas supieron componer en prosa, tambien como en verso, fabulas breves, y compendiosas por via de poesia, para encerrar en ellas doctrina moral, o para guardar alguna tradicion de su ydolatria, o de los hechos famosos de sus Reyes, o de otros grandes varones."[147]

[144] Don Ricardo is eighty years of age and in poor health.

[145] Dated March 19, 1913.

[146] *Op. cit., 2a parte,* chap. xii.

[147] *Op. cit.,* IV, 1.

On page 51 of this article, mention was made of the historical pageants that were given at Potosí in the early days of that town. In an address entitled *La música indígena en sus relaciones con la literatura,* given by Don Felipe Barreda y Laos at Lima, Peru, in 1910,[148] the speaker describes somewhat similar representations that are given by the Indians of the Sierra today:

> Por medio de un baile que se llama de los *incas,* los indios de la Sierra mantienen siempre vivo el recuerdo doloroso de la conquista, reproduciendo con acompañamiento de danza, y canto de un coro de diez a doce jóvenes, el episodio de la prisión y muerte del inca Atahualpa. Regularmente, se ejecuta este baile de la siguiente manera: diez a doce jóvenes, lujosamente vestidas, se dividen en dos filas, colocadas frente a frente, y un tanto distanciadas. En el espacio intermediario, y hacia un extremo, se coloca un indio disfrazado de Pizarro, enmascarado, con sombrero de picos y espada. En el extremo opuesto, y cerrando el cuadro, está Atahualpa, que aparece entre dos ñustas: dos indios, también disfrazados de españoles, acompañan a Pizarro. Comienza el baile al son de un tamboril y de una flauta, y cuando éste concluye, sucede una lucha entre Pizarro y Atahualpa, que termina con la prisión y muerte del inca, entre cantos tristes y lamentaciones del coro de payas inconsolables.

It is certainly likely that the "dramas" of ancient Peru were akin to these scenic representations rather than to the plays of Calderon.[149]

[148] Cf. *Conferencia literario-musical,* mentioned above.

[149] In *The Güegüence, A Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua, Edited by Daniel G. Brinton* (Philadelphia, 1883), Brinton states that in Nicaragua, in the sixteenth century, the Indians performed symbolic *"bailes"* at some of which songs "of an historical character" were sung, and quotes Fernández de Oviedo, who "was in Nicaragua in 1529," *Historia general de las Indias,* tomo XLII, cap. xi; (for accounts of similar dances in Mexico during the sixteenth century, see Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia del Nuovo Mondo,* fol. 103, Venetia, 1565), and Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España* (ed. Mexico, 1880), tomo II, p. 232. Of the *Baile del Güegüence, ó Macho-ratón,* Brinton says: "Several copies of this exist in manuscript and from a comparison of two of them, the late Dr. C. H. Berendt obtained, in 1874, the text which is printed in this volume . . . Its antiquity and authorship are alike unknown." The play "is composed in a mixed dialect, a jargon of low Spanish and corrupt Aztec

Before closing this article, it seems best to give the views concerning the source of *Ollanta* held by some other Peruvian and Spanish scholars. The distinguished Peruvian historian, Don Manuel de Mandiburu, in an article entitled *La lengua Quichua ó Quechua,*[150] says:

El notable publicista argentino General don Bartolomé Mitre y nuestro laborioso amigo don Ricardo Palma han sostenido que el *Ollanta* no pudo ser escrito en tiempo de los Incas, sino escrito en quechua, a fines del siglo XVIII, por persona conocedora del teatro griego y del español, opinión de la que también participa el compilador de estos apuntes, por estimarla muy fundada.

Dr. José Gabriel Cosio, a professor in the University of Cuzco, published an article in the university review, *La Sierra* (August, 1911), entitled *"El melodrama 'Ollanta'."* He sums up his conclusion in these words:

Es indudable que el drama tiene todas las trazas de ser obra de alguien que conocía el teatro español representado en el siglo de oro de la Literatura Castellana por Lope de Vega y Calderón. La disposición de las escenas, la ficción de los episodios y, sobre todo, el gracioso o bufo representado por Piqui-Chaqui, muestran a las claras su origen colonial.

Although the great Spanish literary critic Menéndez y Pelayo was not a Quechua scholar, yet his knowledge of comparative literature gives weight to his pronouncement regarding the source of *Ollanta*. He says:

(Nahuatl)." He considers the spirit of the play to be aboriginal because it differs from the Spanish drama in "the absence of all reference to the emotions of love . . . in that, while females are introduced, they are strictly *mutae personae,* even the heroine not speaking a word; that there are no monologues or soliloquies; that there is no separation into scenes, the action being continuous throughout; that there is neither prologue, epilogue, or chorus; and especially the wearisome repetition of the same phrases." *Güegüence* is a farce in prose consisting mainly of horseplay and coarse dialogues. Güegüence himself is a boasting, lying, licentious knave whose humor consists largely in pretending to be deaf or to misunderstand the words spoken to him.

[150] Published posthumously in *Apuntes históricos,* Lima, 1902. Mandiburu's most important work is the *Diccionario histórico del Perú.*

. . . el famoso *Ollantai,* que se ha querido dar por antiquísimo texto dramático de dicha literatura (quechua), pero que, leído desapasionadamente, no parece, a lo menos en las traducciones, más que una imitación de las comedias españolas, hecha por algún ingenioso misionero del siglo XVII, y quizá de tiempo muy posterior.[151]

To these expressions of opinion must be added the positive words of Dr. Lenz in his recent letter to the writer of this article, to which reference has already been made; "*Ollanta* is no more Incaic than the *drama del hijo pródigo* published by Middendorf."

It has been shown that Middendorf, who is the most learned and the most thorough of all Quechua scholars, was the first to determine the age of the texts of *Ollanta* by making a critical study of the language. Now, curiously, neither Middendorf nor any other of the Quechua scholars who have been mentioned in this article, has made a study of the versification of the play, and yet the versification is the most convincing evidence we have that no part of *Ollanta* was composed in its present form before the Spanish conquest. For if there was an *Ollanta* drama in the time of the Incas,—and of this there is not the slightest evidence,—it has been worked over from beginning to end and put into Spanish verse-forms.

V

The story of *Ollanta,* at least in part, may be ancient,[152] but this has not been proven. The *Ollanta* drama, in its present form, is of the eighteenth century: this date is

[151] *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos,* Vol. III (1894), p. cclxxvii.

[152] Palacios (in *El Museo erudito,* 1837) gives an *Ollanta* tradition; but as he heard it some sixty years after the public performance of the play, it is impossible to determine whether the tradition is the source of the play, or the play the source of the tradition. Pacheco Zegarra (*op. cit.,* p. xlix) says: "La plupart (des Indiens), peut-être tous, sauf de rares exceptions, ignorent l'existence d'un drame qui a pour base l'épisode historique d'*Ollantaï* et même la tradition relative à cette épisode."

clearly indicated by all the manuscripts now extant. It is possible that the play was composed at an earlier date, and that successive copyists changed the language to conform to that spoken in their day, but of this there is no evidence. The spirit of the play, the dramatic arrangement, and the versification, show clearly that the author was acquainted with the Spanish drama, and that he imitated it. The date of the play has not been definitely established, but it could not have been prior to the Spanish conquest. The evidence points to the eighteenth century as the date of its composition, and to Valdés as its author. The *Ollanta* that we possess is not an "ancient Inca drama," for whether the subject-matter be ancient or not, the play is modern. To call *Ollanta* "an ancient Inca drama" is as absurd as to call Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and Corneille's *Horace* ancient Roman dramas.

SOME SPANISH-AMERICAN POETS

In the introduction to the first volume of his *American Letters* Juan Valera, the eminent novelist and literary critic, and one-time minister to Washington, said:

> In the natural and exact sciences, and in industry and commerce, English America . . . . has prospered more; but one may say without boasting that in letters, with regard to both quantity and quality, Spanish America is in advance of English America.[1]

The distinguished Hispanic scholar, Professor James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in his *History of Spanish Literature*[2] gives the reply courteous to Valera in these words:

> He (Valera) rarely writes without establishing some ingenious and suggestive parallel or pronouncing some luminous judgment; but . . . . his desire to please often stays him from arriving at a clear conclusion . . . . his suave complaisance becomes a formidable weapon in such a performance as the *Cartas Americanas,* where . . . . you set the book down with the impression that the writers of the South American continent have been complimented out of existence by a stately courtier.

After reading many volumes of Spanish-American verses, one is led to believe that Hispano-American poetry, though more voluminous, is probably not a whit finer and nobler than that of English America; and that, on the other hand, it is in no wise inferior. In attempting to study the poets of Spanish America, one is confronted with a bewildering array of mediocre poets, above whom seems to rise here and there a greater artist. But, after all, whatever one's choice of these artists may be, it will have been largely influenced by personal taste; and it is, therefore, with considerable diffidence that six poets have been chosen, not as certainly the best in

[1] *Cartas Americanas, 1a serie,* Madrid, 1889.

[2] New York, 1908.

every respect, but as representative of the best that Spanish America has given to the world of letters.

The two most notable women writers of Spanish America are Avellaneda and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Much has been written about Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda y Arteaga (1816–1873), the romantic poetess, who was born in Cuba but went to Spain at the age of twenty, and is therefore generally considered a Spanish rather than a Cuban writer. Sor Juana Inés (1651–1695), the Mexican nun of the seventeenth century, is not so well known. Her worldly name was Doña Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez de Cantillana, and it is no wonder, therefore, that she preferred the simple pen-name of "Julia." The lady first saw the light of day in a village near Mexico City. Her father, Don Pedro Manuel de Asbaje, was a Basque of good family, and her mother was a Mexican lady of Spanish descent, Doña Isabel Ramírez. Tradition holds that Juana Inés was a precocious child, as tradition is wont to hold with regard to children who had in them the germ of greatness. It is said that when she was only three years of age she slipped away to school one day with an older sister, and learned to read and write before her mother knew that she was going to school at all. When still a small child she astonished her parents by announcing that as cheese dulled the intellect she would eat no more of it. At the age of seven or eight years Juana Inés began to write verses, her first composition being one in honor of the Blessed Sacrament. As there were no colleges for women in Mexico during the seventeenth century, our little lady is said to have begged her father to let her dress as a man and thus attend one of the colleges in Mexico City. This request was refused by an unsympathetic father; but he allowed her to begin the study of Latin with a tutor. With only twenty lessons, supplemented by much private reading, Juana Inés acquired so

complete a command of Latin, if her biographers can be trusted, that she wrote and spoke it perfectly. But after all these exaggerated statements have been sifted, the fact remains that the child had intellectual curiosity in an unusual degree, as may be gathered from this statement that occurs in her writings:

> Since the first light of reason illumined me, I had so vehement and strong an inclination to letters, that neither the reproofs of others, of which I have had many, nor my own reflections, of which I have made not a few, sufficed to turn me from this natural impulse which God gave me. . . . . Since in women the natural beauty of the hair is so highly esteemed, I cut off five or six finger-lengths of mine, ... and imposed upon myself the law that when it grew again to where it was before, if I did not know this or the other thing which I had set out to learn in the meantime, I should cut it off again as punishment for my stupidity; . . . . for it did not seem reasonable to me that a head so bare of ideas should be adorned with hair.

When still a young girl Juana Inés became a maid-in-waiting in the viceroy's palace, where her beauty and wit attracted much attention. But she soon renounced the worldly life of the court, and, apparently moved by a determination never to marry, joined a religious order. In the convent of San Jerónimo she turned for solace to books. She was an indefatigable reader, and in time she accumulated a library of four thousand volumes, as well as several musical instruments and some scientific apparatus. Two years before her death Sor Juana received from the bishop of Puebla a letter that affected her greatly. The bishop censured her devotion to worldly studies, and urged her to give her mind thereafter entirely to God. The sister, who was now forty-two years old, complied with the advice even more fully than the good bishop had intended. After selling her books and instruments and giving the proceeds to the poor, Sor Juana made a general confession, wrote with her own blood a solemn declara-

tion of faith, and renouncing all worldly things during the remaining months of her life, she gave herself entirely to religious meditation and penance.

On reading the verses of Sor Juana, one is immediately struck by their unevenness. The defects and errors, of which there are many, seem largely due to hasty improvisation or to the dark and devious ways of Gongorism. In this connection, however, and in all fairness to the poetess, one must acknowledge that most of her verses, considering the period in which they are written, are extraordinarily free from Gongoristic exaggeration. Her better verses are of two kinds: those that give evidence of an unusual degree of cleverness and mental acuteness, and those that have the ring of spontaneity and sincerity. She was rather too fond of making a display of her cleverness on all occasions, and only in some of her erotic and religious poems does this fondness for display sink beneath a rising tide of tumultuous passion. As an exponent of erotic mysticism Sor Juana is most interesting. In the most passionate of her erotic verses there is an apparent sincerity which makes it difficult for the lay reader to believe that she had not been profoundly influenced by human love, as when she gives expression to the feelings of a loving wife for a dead husband, or laments the absence of a lover, or tells of a great jealousy.

In addition to her lyrics, Sor Juana wrote three *autos* (short dramatic compositions in which the characters are biblical or allegorical): *The Scepter of Saint Joseph* (*El Cetro de San José*), *Saint Hermenegild* (*San Hermenegildo*), and *The Divine Narcissus* (*El Divino Narciso*) which is the best of the three and contains some beautiful mystic songs; and two secular plays: *Love Is a Greater Labyrinth* (*Amor es Más Laberinto*), from the story of Theseus and Ariadne, and *The Obligations of a House* (*Empeños de una Casa*), an

imitation of the *capa y espada* drama of Calderon. It was unfortunate for the fame of Sor Juana that her poems were first published[3] under the bombastic title, *Castalian Inundation of the Unique Poetess and Tenth Muse* (*Inundación Castálida de la Única Poetisa, Musa Décima*), *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz;* but such titles were then in fashion.

As to the place held by this Mexican nun in Spanish literature, critics, of course, disagree (if critics agreed, there would be no need of critics). Menéndez y Pelayo, in his *Anthology of Spanish-American Poets,* Vol. I, declares Sor Juana superior to all other Spanish poets of the reign of Charles the Second; but this, after all, is not great praise, for good poets were not numerous during that period. Pimentel, in his *History of Mexican Poetry,* censures Juana Inés' frequent errors in diction and in prosody and her occasional Gongoristic expressions, and proclaims the Mexican friar, Manuel Navarrete (1768–1809), a greater philosophic and religious poet. But when all has been said and done, the fact remains that Sor Juana is Mexico's greatest poetess, and her finest poems may be read by all with pleasure and profit. Her most widely known verses, but by no means her best, are the quatrains in defense of woman. The following lines are a free rendering of some of the stanzas of this poem:

Oft you do everything you can
To lead a woman into shame,
And then, unjust and foolish man,
You give the woman all the blame.

You seek to kiss her modest lip,
You lure her with the sirens' call,
You do your best to make her slip,
And yet you blame her if she fall.

[3] Vol. I, Madrid, 1689.

Your humor, Sir, so strangely grim,
Completely lacks a sense of right:
Why do you make the mirror dim
If you desire it to be bright?

And who is worse, now tell me, pray,
Who most excites old Satan's grin,
The one who weakly sins for pay,
Or the strong man who pays for sin?

Oh, you should try, at any price,
To shield a maid from sin and shame;
But if you lead her into vice,
You ought to love her just the same!

The three pre-eminent classic poets of Spanish America are Bello of Venezuela, Olmedo of Ecuador, and the Cuban Heredia. Of these, Don Andrés Bello (1781–1865) was the most consummate master of poetic diction, though he lacked the brilliancy of Olmedo and the spontaneity of Heredia. Born in Caracas and educated in the schools of his native city, Bello was sent to England in the year 1810 to further the cause of the revolution, and he remained in that country till 1829, when he was called to Chile to take service in the Department of Foreign Affairs. His life may, therefore, be divided into three distinct periods. In Caracas he studied chiefly the Latin and Spanish classics and the elements of international law, and he made metrical translations of Virgil and Horace. Upon arriving in England at the age of twenty-nine years, he gave himself with enthusiasm to the study of Greek, Italian, and French, as well as to English. These nineteen years in England were still a part of the formative period of Bello's life, for, unlike Sor Juana, his development was slow. He read and wrote incessantly when not engaged in giving private lessons in order to earn his livelihood, for he received little support from America. He came to know

many scholars, and he was especially intimate with James Mill, whom he is said to have helped to decipher an enigmatic document of Bentham, and with Blanco-White, and other Spanish men of letters who were living there in exile on account of their liberal views. Bello joined with the Spanish and Hispano-American scholars in London in the publication of several literary reviews, notably the *Censor Americano* (1820), the *Biblioteca Americana* (1823), and the *Repertorio Americano* (1826–1827), and in these he published many of his most important works. Here appeared his studies of Old French and of the *Song of My Cid,* his excellent translation of fourteen cantos of Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato,* several important articles on Spanish syntax and prosody, and the best of all his poems, the *Silvas Americanas.*

In 1829, when already forty-eight years of age, Bello removed to Chile, and there entered upon the happiest period of his life. Besides working in a government office, he gave private lessons until in 1831 he was made rector of the College of Santiago. In the year 1843 the University of Chile was established at Santiago, and Bello became its first rector. He held this important post till his death twenty-two years later at the ripe age of eighty-four. During this third and last period of his life Bello completed and published his *Spanish Grammar* and his *Principles of International Law,* works which, with occasional slight revisions, have been used as standard textbooks in Spanish America, and to some extent in Spain, to the present day. The *Grammar,* especially, has been extraordinarily successful, and the edition with notes by José Rufino Cuervo is still the best textbook of Spanish grammar we have. In the *Grammar* Bello sought to free Castilian from Latin terminology; but he desired, most of all, to correct the abuses so common to writers of the period, and to establish linguistic unity in Spanish America.

Bello wrote little original verse during these last years of his life. At one time he became very fond of Victor Hugo and even tried to imitate him; but his classical training and methodical habits made success difficult. His best poetic work during his residence in Chile, however, are translations of Victor Hugo, and his free metrical rendering of *La Prière pour Tous* (from the *Feuilles d'Automne*) is among his finest and most popular verses.

It is interesting that Don Andrés Bello, a distinguished scholar in linguistics and in international law, should also have been a pre-eminent poet. All critics, except possibly a few of the present-day *"modernistas,"* place his *American Silvas* among the best poetic compositions of all Spanish America. The *Silvas* are two in number: the *Allocution to Poetry* (*Alocución a la Poesía*), and the *Silva to the Agriculture of the Torrid Zone* (*Silva a la Agricultura de la Zona Tórrida*). The first is fragmentary: apparently the poet despaired of completing it, and he embodied in the second poem an elaboration of those passages of the first work which describe nature in the tropics. The *Silvas* are in some degree imitations of Virgil's *Georgics,* and they are the best of Spanish imitations. The great literary critic, Menéndez y Pelayo, was willing to admit that Bello is, "in descriptive and georgic verse, the most Virgilian of our (Spanish) poets."[4] Caro, in his splendid biography[5] of Bello, classifies the *Silvas* as "scientific poetry," which is quite true if this sort of poetry gives an esthetic conception of nature, expressed in beautiful terms and adorned with descriptions of natural objects. It is less true of the *Allocution,* which is largely historical, in that it introduces and sings the praises of towns and persons that

[4] *Antología de Poetas hisp.-am.,* Vol. II, p. cxlii.

[5] In Miguel Antonio Caro's introduction to the *Poesías de Andrés Bello,* Madrid, 1882.

won fame in the revolutionary wars. The *Silva to Agriculture,* which is both descriptive and moral, may be best described in the words of Caro. It is, says this distinguished critic, "an account of the beauty and wealth of nature in the tropics, and an exhortation to those who live in the Equator that, instead of wasting their strength in political and domestic dissensions, they should devote themselves to agricultural pursuits." Bello's interest in nature had doubtless been stimulated by the coming of Humboldt to Caracas in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In his attempt to express his feeling for nature in poetic terms, he probably felt the influence not only of Virgil, but also of Arriaza's *Emilia or the Arts* and of the several poems descriptive of nature written in Latin by Jesuit priests, such as the once famous *Rusticatio Mexicana* by Father Landívar of Guatemala. And yet there is very little in the *Silvas* that is directly imitative. The *Silva to the Agriculture of the Torrid Zone,* especially, is an extraordinarily successful attempt to give expression in Virgilian terms to the exotic life of the tropics, and in this it is unique in Spanish literature. The beautiful descriptive passages in this poem, the noble ethical precepts, and the severely pure diction, combine to make it a classic that will long hold an honored place in Spanish letters.

Although the poetry of Ecuador is of relatively little importance as compared with that of several other American countries, yet Ecuador gave to the world one of the greatest of American poets. Don José Joaquín de Olmedo (1780–1847) was born in Guayaquil when that city still formed part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Consequently two countries claim him—Peru, because he was born a Peruvian and because, furthermore, he received his education at San Marcos University in Lima; and Ecuador, since Guayaquil became permanently a part of that republic, and Olmedo identified

himself with its social and political life. Olmedo ranks as one of the great poetic artists of Spanish literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He is of the same neo-classic school as Quintana, and like him devoted to artistic excellence and lyric grandiloquence. Olmedo's serious poems are thoroughly imbued with the Graeco-Latin classical spirit. His prosody nears perfection; but it is marred by an occasional abuse of verbal endings in rhyme, and the inadvertent employment of assonance where there should be none, faults common to many of the earlier Spanish-American poets. His greatest poem is *The Victory of Junin* (*La Victoria de Junín*), which is filled with sweet-sounding phrases and beautiful images, but is, logically, inconsistent and improbable. Even Bolívar the Liberator, to whom the poem is addressed, censured Olmedo in a letter for using the *machina* of the appearance at night, before the combined Colombian and Peruvian armies, of Huaina-Capac the Inca, "showing himself to be a talkative mischief-maker where he should have been lighter than ether, since he comes from heaven," and, instead of desiring the restoration of the Inca dynasty, preferring "strange intruders who, though avengers of his blood, are descendants of those who destroyed his empire." *The Song to General Flores* (*Canto al General Flores*) is considered by some critics to be the poet's most finished work, though of less substance and inspiration than *The Victory of Junin*. This General Flores was a successful revolutionary leader during the early days of the republic, and he was later as bitterly assailed by Olmedo as he is here praised. Of a different type is the philosophic poem, *To a Friend upon the Birth of His First Child* (*A un Amigo en el Nacimiento de su Primogénito*), which is filled with sincere sympathy and deep meditation on the future. With the coming of middle age Olmedo's poetic vein had apparently been exhausted, and

the Peruvian poet Felipe Pardo addressed to him an ode in which he sought, though to no avail, to stimulate the older bard to renewed activity. Olmedo, as a poetic genius, loomed suddenly upon the horizon of Guayaquil, and, after his departure, there was for years no one to take his place. In politics Olmedo was as prominent as he was in letters. A jurist of note, he was sent by his native city in 1810 to the Spanish Cortes at Cadiz, where he took an important part in the deliberations of that revolutionary body. Soon after his return to America in 1816 he was selected by Bolívar to represent Colombia at the Court of Saint James, and in England he became a close friend of Bello. After the secession of Ecuador from the earlier Colombia, Olmedo was honored from time to time with high political offices. The best edition of Olmedo's *Poesías* is that of Garnier Frères, published in Paris in 1896, with notes and a biographical article by Clemente Ballén.

The Cuban poet, Don José María Heredia (1803–1839), is better known in Europe and in the United States than either Bello or Olmedo, since his poems are more universal in their appeal. He is especially well known in the United States, where he lived in exile for over two years (1823–1825), at first in Boston and later in New York. Although Heredia died

> Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita,

his brief pilgrimage through life was crowded with varied experiences. Born in Cuba, he studied in Santo Domingo, and in Caracas (1812–1817), as well as in his native island. Accused of conspiracy against the Spanish government, he fled to the United States in 1823, and there eked out a precarious existence by giving private lessons. In 1825 he went to Mexico, where he was well received, and where he held

several important posts, including those of member of Congress and judge of the superior court. In Heredia's biography two facts should be stressed: that he studied for five years in Caracas, the city that produced Bolívar and Bello, respectively the greatest general and the greatest scholar of Spanish America; and that he spent only twelve years, all told, in Cuba. As he lived for fourteen years in Mexico, that country also claims him as her own, while Caracas points to him with pride as another child of her older educational system.

Heredia was most unhappy in the United States. He admired the political institutions of this country; but he disliked the climate, and he despaired of learning English. In one of his patriotic hymns, *To Emilia,* he says:

> The furious north-wind roars,
> And borne upon its wings the stinging ice
> Swoops down upon us and devours the earth.
> A fog doth veil the splendor of the sun,
> And hides from us the sky,
> Which on the dim horizon is confused
> With the gray sea. The naked trees are scourged
> By wintry blasts, and toss and groan in pain.
> No living thing is seen amid the fields
> Where desolation reigns and solitude. . . . .
> Oh, shall my suffering eyes ne'er see again
> The gently swaying leaves of graceful palms
> As they glow golden in the western light?
> Shall I not mock the glare of midday sun
> 'Neath the banana's loudly rustling leaves,
> While gentle breezes fan my heated face?

With regard to the English language, he adds:

> Instead of thy sweet speech, I hear, alas!
> The strange, harsh sounds of a barbaric tongue.

And in one of his letters to a friend in Cuba he says: "I do

not understand how so great a people has come to use so execrable a jargon." Some of the North American customs also seemed strange to him, as when he wrote:

> Here one may kill a man with his fists without fear of punishment; but they hang without fail one who attacks another with a pointed knife. Thus it is that here table knives have rounded ends so as to avoid trouble.

Let me add by way of digression that Heredia, who was a cousin of the French sonnetist of the same name, was not the only Cuban poet to suffer persecution. Of the seven leading Cuban poets, often spoken of as "the Cuban Pleiad," Avellaneda removed to Spain where she married and spent her life in tranquillity; and Joaquín Luaces avoided trouble by living in retirement and veiling his patriotic songs with mythological names. On the other hand, José Jacinto Milanés lost his reason at the early age of thirty years, José María Heredia and Rafael Mendive fled the country and lived in exile; while Gabriel Valdés and Juan Clemente Zenea were shot by order of the governor-general. Truly, in Cuba, the wages of poetry was death!

Heredia, unlike Bello and Olmedo, was not a classic scholar. His acquaintance with the Latin poets was limited, and seldom does a Virgilian or Horatian expression occur in his verses. Though, strictly speaking, not a romantic poet, he was a close precursor of that movement. His language is not seldom incorrect or lacking in sobriety and restraint; but his numbers are musical and his thought springs directly from imaginative exaltation. Heredia's poorest verses are doubtless his early love-songs: his best are those in which the contemplation of nature leads the poet to meditation on human existence, as in *Niagara, The Temple-Pyramid of Cholula* (*El Teocalli de Cholula*), *In a Tempest* (*En una Tempestad*), and *To the Sun* (*Al Sol*). In these poems the

predominant note is that of gentle melancholy. In Cuba his best known verses are the two patriotic hymns, *To Emilia,* and *The Hymn of an Exile* (*Himno del Desterrado*). These were written before the poet was disillusioned by his later experiences in the turbulent Mexico of the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, and they are so virulent in their expression of hatred of Spain that Menéndez y Pelayo refused to include them in his *Anthology*. Heredia undertook to write several plays, but without success. Some translations of dramatic works, however, were well received, and especially those of Ducis' *Abufar,* Voltaire's *Mahomet,* and Alfieri's *Saul.* The Garnier edition (Paris, 1893) of Heredia's *Poesías* contains an interesting introduction by the literary critic, Elías Zerolo.

That great extent of fertile plains and lofty mountains, which is now called Argentina, was of comparatively little importance in the literary history of the Spanish colonies, as compared with the populous and cultivated viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru. Argentina was actually governed from Lima, Peru, till 1778, when the new viceroyalty of Buenos Aires was established. And yet today it is the rival of Chile for the hegemony of the Spanish-American states, and Buenos Aires is the largest and wealthiest Spanish-speaking city in the world.

Don Olegario Víctor Andrade (1838–1882) is generally recognized as one of the foremost poets of America.[6] In art, Andrade was a disciple of Victor Hugo; in philosophy, he was a believer in modern progress and freedom of thought. His verses have inspiration and enthusiasm; but they are too often marred by excessive grandiloquence combined with incorrectness of speech. *Atlántida,* a hymn to the future of

[6] His *Obras Poéticas* were published by the Argentine government, Buenos Aires, 1887.

the Latin race in America, and *Prometeo,* an ode to the emancipation of human thought, are the poet's noblest works. The following translation of a few stanzas of *Atlántida* will give some idea of its content:

The passing centuries the secret kept.
But Plato saw it dimly when, beside
The Aegean sea, he gazed upon the shadows
Falling softly on Hymettus' peak,
And spake mysterious words with restless waves
That groaned beneath his feet. He knew the name
Of this last child of Time, destined to be
The Future's bride, where dwells eternal spring;
And called it fair Atlantis.
But God thought best to give the mighty task
To Latin men, the race that tamed the world,
And fought its greatest battles.

And when the hour was struck, Columbus came
Upon a ship that bore the fate of Man,
And westward made his way.
The wild tumultuous Ocean hurled against
The tiny Latin ship the black north wind,
While whirlwinds roaring fiercely rode astride
The lightning's blood-red steed.
Forward the vessel moved, and broke the seal
Of Mystery; and fair Atlantis woke
At last, to find her in a dreamer's arms!

Often the victor over thrones and crowns,
The restless spirit of the ancient race
Had found fulfilment of its noblest dream,—
Abundant space and light in distant zones!
With armor newly forged, nor dragging now
The blood-stained winding-sheet of a dead past,
Nor weighted down by blackest memories,
Once more it ventured forth in eager quest
Of liberty and glory.

Before it lay a vast, unconquered world.
Here, resting on the sea, 'neath tropic skies,
And bathed in the white light of rising dawn,
The Antilles lift their heads, like scattered birds
That utter plaintive cries
And dry their snowy wings that they may fly
To other, distant shores.

Here rises Mexico above two seas,
A granite tower that even yet would seem
To spy the Spanish fleet as it draws near
Across the Aztec gulf;
And over there Colombia, lulled to sleep
By the deep roar of Tequendama's fall,
Within its bosom hides unfailing wealth.

Hail, happy zone! Oh, fair, enchanted land,
Belovèd child of the creative sun
And teeming home of animated life,
The birth-place of the great Bolívar,—hail!
In thee, Venezuela, all is great:
The flashing stars that light thee from above;
Thy genius and thy noble heroism,
Which with volcanic force and deafening crash
Burst forth on San Mateo's lofty peak!

Outstretched below the Andes' mighty chain,
Like one who weeps above an open grave,
The Incas' Rome doth lie.
Its sword was broken in the bloody strife,
And in obscurity its face was sunk.
But still Peru doth live!
For in a virile race
Defeat doth spell a new, a nobler life.
And when propitious toil, which heals all wounds,
Shall come to thee at last,
And when the sun of justice shines again
After long days of weeping and of shame,
The ripening grain shall paint with flowers of gold
The crimson cloak that o'er thy shoulder floats.

Bolivia, namesake of the giant[7] born
At Mount Avila's foot,
Hath kept his lively wit and valiant heart,
With which to face the storm and stress of life.
It dreams of war today; but also dreams
Of greater things, when 'stead of useless guns,
The engines made of steel
Shall boldly bridge the vales and scale the hills.

And Chile, strong in war and strong in toil,
Hangs its avenging arms upon the wall,
Convinced that victory by brutal strength
Is vain and empty if it be not right.
And Uruguay, although too fond of strife,
The sweet caress of progress ever seeks;
Brazil,[8] which feels the Atlantic's noisy kiss,
With greater freedom were a greater state;
And now the blessèd land,
The bride of glory, which the Plata bathes
And which the Andean range alone doth bound!

Let all arise, for 'tis our native land,
Our own, our native land, which ever sought
Sublime ideals. Our youthful race was lulled
E'en in the cradle by immortal hymns,
And now it calls, to share its opulence,
All those who worship sacred liberty,
The fair handmaid of science, progress, art.
. . . . . .
Our country turns its back on savage war,
And casts away the fratricidal sword,
That it may bind upon its haughty brow
A wreath of yellow wheat,
Lighter to wear than any golden crown. . . . .
The sun of ultimate redemption shines
On our belovèd land, which strides ahead
To meet the future, and with noble mien
Offers the Plata's overflowing cup
To all the hungry nations. . . . .

[7] General Bolivar.

[8] These lines were written before Brazil became a republic.

With the appearance in 1888 of a small volume of prose and verse entitled *Azul*, by Rubén Darío (1864–1916) of Nicaragua, came the triumph of the "movement of emancipation," the "literary revolution," which the "decadents" had already initiated in France, and in its train there came inevitably a general attack on poetic traditions. This movement was hailed with joy by the young men of Latin America, who are by nature more emotional and who live in a more voluptuous environment than their cousins in Spain; for they had come to chafe at the coldness of contemporary Spanish poetry, at its lack of color and its "petrified metrical forms." With the success of the movement there was for a time a reign of license, when poet vied with poet in defying the time-honored rules, not only of versification, but also of vocabulary and syntax. But as in France, so in Spanish America, "decadence" has had its day, though traces of its passing are everywhere in evidence, and the best that was in it still lingers.

When reproached by the Spaniards for their imitation of French models, the Spanish Americans make this reply: "We imitated your neo-classicism and your romanticism, both of which you borrowed from France: now we prefer to borrow directly." In this connection it is interesting to note that the decadent movement was felt later and to a less degree in Spain, and some Spanish-American writers even hold that it came to Spain from America. These writers also tell us modestly that their form of Castilian (which they call *neo-español*) is more expressive and ornate than that which is still spoken on the arid plains of the two Castiles, and that their bards are superior in number and in quality to those of Spain.

Today their poets are turning their attention more and more to the study of sociological problems or to the cement-

ing of racial solidarity. These notes ring clear in some recent poems of Darío, and of José Santos Chocano of Peru, and Rufino Blanco-Fombona of Venezuela. The following lines are a translation of an ode by Darío, which was addressed to Mr. Roosevelt when he was still president of this country. The meter of the poem is mainly the Old Spanish Alexandrine, but with a curious intermingling of shorter lines. In all fairness it should be stated here that Rubén Darío, in a recent letter to the writer of this article, has said: "I do not think today as I did when I wrote those verses."

'Tis only with the Bible or with Walt Whitman's verse,
That you, the mighty hunter, are reached by other men.
You're primitive and modern, you're simple and complex,—
A veritable Nimrod with aught of Washington.
You are the United States;
You are the future foe
Of free America that keeps its Indian blood,
That prays to Jesus Christ, and speaks in Spanish still.
You are a fine example of a strong and haughty race;
You're learnèd and you're clever; to Tolstoy you're opposed;
And whether taming horses or slaying savage beasts,
You seem an Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar too.
(As madmen today are wont to say,
You're a great professor of energy.)
You seem to be persuaded
That life is but combustion,
That progress is eruption,
And where you send the bullet
You bring the future.

No.
The United States are rich, they're powerful and great
(They join the cult of Mammon to that of Hercules),
And when they stir and roar, the very Andes shake.
. . . . . .
But our America, which since the ancient times . . . .
Has had its native poets; which lives on fire and light,

On perfumes and on love; our vast America,
The land of Montezuma, the Inca's mighty realm,
Of Christopher Columbus the fair America,
America the Spanish, the Roman Catholic, ...
Oh, men of Saxon eyes and fierce, barbaric soul,
This land still lives and dreams, and loves and stirs!
Take care!
The daughter of the Sun, the Spanish land, doth live!
And from the Spanish lion a thousand whelps have sprung!
'Tis need, Oh Roosevelt, that you be God himself . . . .
Before you hold us fast in your grasping, iron claws.

And though you count on all, one thing is lacking: God!

DID BRYANT TRANSLATE HEREDIA'S ODE TO NIAGARA?

The ode to Niagara written by the Cuban poet José María Heredia (1803–1839) is probably the finest poem that has ever been inspired by the famous waterfall. It is well known that this ode was published in the *Poesías de José María Heredia,* New York, 1825, and that the poet revised it and republished it in the *Poesías de José María Heredia,* Toluca (Mexico), 1832. The majority of literary critics prefer the primitive version of the poem to the revised one. Thus, Menéndez y Pelayo gives the primitive version of *Niágara* in his *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos,* Vol. II, Madrid, 1893; and Fitzmaurice-Kelly also chooses this version for *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse,* Oxford, 1913. Zerolo, however, chose the revised version of the poem for the *Poesías líricas de José María Heredia con prólogo de Elías Zerolo,* Paris, Garnier, 1893.

Recently I was reading the English metrical translation of this poem which has been attributed to William Cullen Bryant,[1] and I was curious to see which of the two versions Bryant chose for translation. A comparison of the translation with the two Spanish texts showed at once that the English follows the primitive edition. The question then arose whether Bryant chose the earlier edition because he preferred it, or made the translation before the poem was republished in revised form.

In an effort to discover the date of the first appearance of the translation I examined several collections of Bryant's poetical works and was puzzled by the fact that they did not contain *Niagara.* In answer to an inquiry, Dr. Axel Moth of the New York Public Library wrote me as follows: "One of

[1] This is easily accessible in Dr. Alfred Coester's valuable *Literary History of Spanish America,* New York, Macmillan, 1916.

my assistants has examined twenty-five editions of Bryant's works without finding the translation of Heredia's verses to Niagara."

In the meantime my colleague Professor Frank C. Senour called my attention to a volume he had in his private library, entitled *The Poets and Poetry of Europe by Henry W. Longfellow.*[2] This volume (pages 728–729) contains the English metrical translation of Heredia's *Niágara* which is attributed to Bryant, but Bryant's name does not appear. The name of the translator is not given. In the Contents it is stated that the verses were taken from the *United States Review and Literary Gazette,* but the number of the review is not given. Mr. C. K. Jones and Mr. F. S. Hellman of the Library of Congress were good enough to have a search of the *United States Review* made for me, and the translation of *Niágara* was found in the issue of January, 1827, Volume I, pages 283–286, but without signature. It is found in the Department of the *Review* that is entitled "Original Poetry," and it is the only poem in this department that is unsigned. Those that were done by Bryant have the signature B. The editors of the review were W. C. Bryant and Charles Folsom.

The name of the translator is not given, but someone has written on the margin of the review, with a pencil, "Bryant and somebody else." The Library has a duplicate copy of this number of the review, and on the margin of the duplicate copy someone has written, also with a pencil, "Part of it translated by W. C. Bryant."

This find made one point clear, namely that the translator did not choose the primitive version of Heredia's *Niágara* because he preferred it, but because there was at that time no other version in existence. The English translation was published two years after the Spanish poem first appeared, and

[2] Philadelphia, Carey and Hart, 1845.

five years before the revised version was published in Mexico.

But no answer was given to the question as to who made the English translation of the poem. If Bryant made all of it or any part of it, he thought best for some reason not to attach his name to it or to include it in his published works. And when Longfellow made the anthology that is mentioned above, he did not attribute to Bryant the translation of *Niágara.*

The first time that Bryant's name appears in print as the translator of *Niágara* is, so far as I know, in Mrs. Gertrude (Fairfield) Vingut's *Selections from the Best Spanish Poets* [Translations], New York, F. J. Vingut, 1856.

When Mr. Godwin collected and published William Cullen Bryant's works, he did not include the translation of *Niágara,* and yet most people who are acquainted with this translation attribute it to Bryant. I do not know why this is so, unless there was an oral tradition to that effect, or it was assumed that Bryant made the translation because he was an editor of the review in which the translation first appeared. But thus far I have not found any valid evidence whatever that Bryant ever translated Heredia's ode to Niagara.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SPANISH PLAYS

I. THE POPULARITY OF SPANISH PLAYS, JUDGED BY THE NUMBER OF ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

The following table gives the number of English translations of plays by Spanish authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which have been published since 1800, arranged by decades. The table is based on my "Catalogue of English Translations of Spanish Plays," which was first published in the *Romanic Review,* Vol. X, No. 3, July–September, 1919, pages 263–273, and which is reproduced, with permission, as the second part of this article.

Authors	Nineteenth Century										Twentieth Century		
	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	1st	2d	Total
Calderón	4	..	1	..	2	12	8	4	..	..	1	..	32
Cervantes	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	2	5
Moreto	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
Roxas Zorrilla.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
Lope de Rueda	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2
Solís	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Torres Naharro	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Lope de Vega.	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	2	5
Totals	6	..	2	..	3	12	11	6	1	..	4	4	49

It will be noted that Calderón leads with 32 translations (of 25 plays); Lope de Vega comes next with 5 (of 5 plays); Cervantes has 5 (of 4 plays); Moreto and Lope de Rueda have 2 each (of 1 play each); Roxas Zorrilla, Solís, and Torres Naharro have 1 each (of 1 play each), making a total of 49 translations (of 39 separate plays).

During the nineteenth century, Calderón, with 31 translations (of 24 plays) to his credit, was in England and the United States the chief representative of the Spanish drama

of the Golden Age. There were only ten other translations, all told: two of these were of plays by Lope de Vega.

The following is a list of the Spanish playwrights of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and of their plays that have been published in English translations since 1800:

CALDERÓN: *El alcalde de Zalamea; Amar después de la muerte; Amar, y ser amado, y divina Philotea; La banda y la flor; La cena de Baltasar; La dama duende; La devoción de la cruz; Los dos amantes del cielo; Crisanto y Daría; Los encantos de la culpa; El gran Príncipe de Fez; El gran teatro del mundo; Guárdate del agua mansa; Luis Pérez el Gallego; El mágico prodigioso* (4); *El mayor encanto amor; El médico de su honra; Mejor está que estaba; Nadie fie su secreto* (2); *Peor está que estaba; El pintor de su deshonra; El príncipe constante; El Purgatorio de San Patricio; El secreto a voces; Las tres justicias en una; La vida es sueño* (4).

CERVANTES: *Los habladores; El juez de los divorcios; La Numancia* (2); *El trato de Argel.*

MORETO: *El desdén con el desdén* (2).

ROXAS ZORRILLA: *Los vandos de Verona, Montescos y Capeletes.*

LOPE DE RUEDA: *El paso séptimo* (*Las aceitunas*) (2).

SOLÍS: *Un bobo hace ciento.*

TORRES NAHARRO: *Comedia hymenea.*

LOPE DE VEGA: *Castelvines y Monteses; La estrella de Sevilla* (?); *El mejor alcalde el rey; El padre engañado; El perro del hortelano.*

It is a curious fact that while in Spain and Germany, and to a less degree in France, the romanticists of the early years of the nineteenth century were influenced and stimulated by the older Spanish drama, in England the interest in this drama, so far as we can judge by the number of translations

that were made, was greatest between 1853 and 1877, after romanticism had lost its supremacy in literature. For the translations of this period we are chiefly indebted to two men: Edward FitzGerald and D. F. McCarthy.

Although Calderón was almost incomparably more popular in England and the United States during the nineteenth century than was Lope de Vega, in the twentieth century Lope has thus far more translations to his credit (3) than has Calderón (1).

Of late there has developed, especially in the United States, a remarkable interest in recent Spanish plays. If we consider the number of translations that have been made, Echegaray leads thus far with 14 (of 8 plays). If the number of separate plays that have been translated is considered, Benavente leads with 11, each of which has been translated once. The Álvarez Quintero brothers follow with 6 translations (of 6 plays), while Pérez Galdós has to his credit 4 translations (of 3 plays).

The most popular single play is *El gran Galeoto* by Echegaray. Of this play 5 translations are recorded.

The following is a list of these playwrights, with the number of translations of their plays that have been published (it should be noted that two of these Spanish dramatists, Guimerá and Rusiñol, write in the Catalan language.)

Authors	Translations	Plays
Alarcón (Mariano)	1	1
Álvarez Quintero	6	6
Avellaneda	1	1
Benavente	11	11
Dicenta	1	1
Echegaray	14	8
Guimerá	3	2
Linares Rivas	1	1

Authors	Translations	Plays
Marquina	1	1
Martínez Sierra	3	3
Pérez Galdós	4	3
Rusiñol	1	1
Tamayo y Baus	1	1
Valle-Inclán	1	1
Zamacois	1	1
Totals	50	42

II. A CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SPANISH PLAYS[1]

ALARCÓN, MARIANO (1883–).

Hijos de Adán. 1918. *Sons of Adam;* tr. by Amelia Schriever. In *The Stratford Journal,* IX, No. 2. 1919.

ÁLVAREZ QUINTERO, SERAFÍN (1871–), and JOAQUÍN (1873–).

El centenario. 3 acts. 1910. *Papa Juan; or The Centenarian;* tr. by Thomas Walsh. In *Poet Lore,* XXIX, No. 3, Boston, 1918.

Fortunato. 3 scenes. 1912. *Fortunato;* tr. by Anna Sprague MacDonald. The Sunwise Turn, Inc., New York, 1918.

Hablando se entiende la gente. 1 act. *By Their Words Ye Shall Know Them;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *The Drama,* No. 25, Chicago, February, 1917.

Malvaloca. 3 acts. 1912. *Malvaloca;* tr. by Jacob S. Fassett, Jr. In *Drama League Series,* Vol. XIX, New York, Doubleday, 1916.

[1] Translations of the eleven following plays have been added to the list published in the *Romanic Review:* Alarcón (Mariano), *Hijos de Adán;* Avellaneda, *Baltasar;* Calderón, *El mágico prodigioso, Mejor está que estaba, La vida es sueño;* Cervantes, *Los habladores, El juez de los divorcios;* Martínez Sierra, *El enamorado;* Mendoza (Antonio), *Querer por sólo querer;* Moratín (Leandro), *El barón;* Solís, *Un bobo hace ciento.* [Star indicates date of first performance.]

Mañana de sol. 1 act. 1905. *A Bright Morning;* tr. by Carlos C. Castillo and E. L. Overman. In *Poet Lore,* XXVII, No. 6, Boston, 1916.

Puebla de las mujeres. 2 acts. 1912. *The Women's Town;* tr. by C. A. Turrell. In *Contemporary Spanish Dramatists,* Boston, Badger, 1919.

BENAVENTE Y MARTÍNEZ, JACINTO (1866–).

La gobernadora. 3 acts. 1901.* *The Governor's Wife;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Plays by Jacinto Benavente,* 2d series, New York, Scribner, 1919. Same, in *Poet Lore,* XXIX, No. 1, Boston, 1918.

Los intereses creados. Prologue and 3 acts. 1907.* *The Bonds of Interest;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Plays by Jacinto Benavente,* New York, Scribner, 1917. Same, in *The Drama,* No. 20, Chicago, 1915.

Los malhechores del bien. 2 acts. 1905.* *The Evil Doers of Good;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Plays by Jacinto Benavente,* New York, Scribner, 1917.

La malquerida. 3 acts. 1913.* *The Passion Flower;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Plays by Jacinto Benavente,* New York, Scribner, 1917.

El marido de su viuda. 1 act. 1908. *His Widow's Husband;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Plays by Jacinto Benavente,* New York, Scribner, 1917.

No fumadores. 1 act. 1904.* *No Smoking;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Plays by Jacinto Benavente.* 2d series, New York, Scribner, 1919. Same, in *The Drama,* No. 25, Chicago, 1917.

La noche del sábado. 5 tableaux. 1904. *Saturday Night;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Poet Lore,* No. 2, Boston, 1918.

La princesa Bebé. 4 acts. 1905. *Princess Bebé;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Plays by Jacinto Benavente,* 2d series, New York, Scribner, 1919.

El príncipe que todo lo aprendió en los libros. 2 acts and 5 scenes. 1910. *The Prince Who Learned Everything Out of Books;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Poet Lore,* XXIX, No. 5, Boston, 1918.

Rosas de otoño. 3 acts. 1905. *Autumnal Roses;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Plays by Jacinto Benavente,* 2d series, New York, Scribner, 1919.

La sonrisa de Gioconda. 1 act. 1908. *The Smile of Mona Lisa;* tr. by John Armstrong Herman. Boston, Badger, [1915].

Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, 1600–1681.

El alcalde de Zalamea. 3 acts. *The Mayor of Zalamea;* tr. by Edward FitzGerald. In *Six Dramas of Calderon,* London, 1853; ed. H. Oelsner. London, Chatto and Windus; Boston, Luce; 1903, 1907; New York, Dodge, 1905. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Works,* Vol. II, New York, 1887. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Letters and Literary Remains,* Vol. II, London, 1889. Same, in *Eight Dramas of Calderon,* London, Macmillan, 1906.

Amar después de la muerte. 3 acts. *Love after Death;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Dramas of Calderon, Tragic, Comic, and Legendary.* 2 vols. London, 1853.

Amar, y ser amado, y divina Philotea. 1 act. *The Divine Philothea;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Mysteries of Corpus Christi,* Dublin, 1867.

La banda y la flor. 3 acts. *The Scarf and the Flower;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Dramas of Calderon,* etc., London, 1853.

La cena de Baltasar. 1 act. *Belshazzar's Feast;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Mysteries of Corpus Christi,* Dublin, 1867. Same, in A. Bates, *The Drama,* Vol. IV, London, 1903.

La dama duende. 3 acts. *The Fairy Lady;* tr. attributed to Lord Holland.[2] In *Three Comedies Translated from the Spanish.* London, 1807.

La devoción de la Cruz. 3 acts. *The Devotion of the Cross;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Love the Greatest Enchantment,* etc., London, 1861. Same, in *Three Dramas of Calderon,* Dublin, 1870.

Los dos amantes del cielo: Crisanto y Daría. 3 acts. *The Two Lovers of Heaven: Chrysanthus and Daria;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Atlantis: or, Register of Literature and Science,* Vol. V, London, 1870. Same (printed separately), London, 1870.

Los encantos de la culpa. 1 act. *The Sorceries of Sin;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Love the Greatest Enchantment,* etc., London, 1861. Same, in *Three Dramas of Calderon,* Dublin, 1870.

El escondido y la tapada. 3 acts. *'Tis Well It's No Worse;* adapted by Isaac Bickerstaffe, London, 1770.

El gran Príncipe de Fez. 3 acts. *The Prince of Fez;* adapted by the Rev. P. Kaenders, St. Louis, Herder, 1905.

El gran teatro del mundo. 1 act. *The Great Theater of the World;* tr. in part by R. C. Trench. In *Life's a Dream,* London, 1856.

Guárdate del agua mansa. 3 acts. *Beware of Smooth Water;* tr. by Edward FitzGerald. In *Six Dramas of Calderon,* London, 1853; ed. H. Oelsner, London, Boston, 1903, 1907; New York, Dodge, 1905. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Works,* Vol. II, New York, 1887. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Letters and Literary Remains,* Vol. II, London, 1889. Same, in *Eight Dramas of Calderon,* London, Macmillan, 1906.

[2] ". . . . Attributed by Watt in his Bibliotheca—erroneously, I suppose—to the third Lord Holland," Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature,* note, p. 393. See also Whitney's catalogue of the Ticknor Library, p. 372.

Luis Pérez el Gallego. 3 acts. *Gil Perez the Gallician;* tr. by Edward FitzGerald. In *Six Dramas of Calderon,* London, 1853; ed. H. Oelsner, London, Boston, 1903, 1907; New York, Dodge, 1905. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Works,* Vol. II, New York, 1887. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Letters and Literary Remains,* Vol. III, London, 1889. Same, in *Eight Dramas of Calderon,* London, Macmillan, 1906.

El mágico prodigioso. 3 acts. *Scenes from the Mágico Prodigioso,* tr. in part by Shelley. In *Posthumous Poems,* London, 1824. *Justina;* tr. by J. H. (D. F. McCarthy?), London, 1848. *The Mighty Magician;* tr. by Edward FitzGerald, Bungay, 1877. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Letters and Literary Remains,* Vol. III, London, 1889. Same, in *Eight Dramas of Calderon,* London, Macmillan, 1906, *The Wonder-Working Magician;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Calderon's Dramas,* London, 1873.

El mayor encanto amor. 3 acts. *Love the Greatest Enchantment;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Love the Greatest Enchantment,* etc., London, 1861. Same, in *Three Dramas of Calderon,* Dublin, 1870.

El médico de su honra. 3 acts. *The Physician of His Own Honour;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Dramas of Calderon,* London, 1853.

Mejor está que estaba. 3 acts. *Fortune Mends;* tr. by Fanny Holcroft. In *The Theatrical Recorder,* Vol. II, No. 8, London, 1805.

Nadie fíe su secreto. 3 acts. *Keep Your Own Secret;* tr. attributed to Lord Holland. In *Three Comedies,* etc., London, 1807. *Keep Your Own Secret;* tr. by Edward FitzGerald. In *Six Dramas of Calderon,* London, 1853; ed. H. Oelsner, London, Boston, 1903, 1907; New

York, Dodge, 1905. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Works,* Vol. II, New York, 1887. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Letters and Literary Remains,* Vol. II, London, 1889. Same, in *Eight Dramas of Calderon,* London, Macmillan, 1906.

No siempre lo peor es cierto. 3 acts. *Elvira: or, The Worst Not Always True;* tr. by George Digby, Earl of Bristol, London, 1667.

Peor está que estaba. 3 acts. *From Bad to Worse;* tr. by Fanny Holcroft. In *The Theatrical Recorder,* etc., London, 1805.

El pintor de su deshonra. 3 acts. *The Painter of His Own Dishonour;* tr. by Edward FitzGerald. In *Six Dramas of Calderon,* London, 1853; ed. H. Oelsner, London, Boston, 1903, 1907; New York, Dodge, 1905. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Works,* Vol. II, New York, 1887. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Letters and Literary Remains,* Vol. II, London, 1889. Same, in *Eight Dramas of Calderon,* London, Macmillan, 1906.

El príncipe constante. 3 acts. *The Constant Prince;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Dramas of Calderon,* London, 1853.

El purgatorio de San Patricio. 3 acts. *The Purgatory of St. Patrick;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Dramas of Calderon,* etc., London, 1853. Same, in *Calderon's Dramas,* London, 1873.

El secreto a voces. 3 acts. *The Secret in Words;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Dramas of Calderon,* etc., London, 1853.

Las tres justicias en una. 3 acts. *Three Judgments at a Blow;* tr. by Edward FitzGerald. In *Six Dramas of Calderon,* London, 1853; ed. H. Oelsner, London, Boston, 1903, 1907; New York, Dodge, 1905. Same, in

Edward FitzGerald, *Works,* Vol. II, New York, 1887. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Letters and Literary Remains,* Vol. II, London, 1889. Same, in *Eight Dramas of Calderon,* London, Macmillan, 1906.

La vida es sueño. 3 acts. *Life's a Dream.* In *The Monthly Magazine,* Nos. 549–551, 1842.[3] *Life Is a Dream;* tr. by D. F. McCarthy. In *Calderon's Dramas,* London, 1873. Same, in Brander Matthews, ed., *The Chief European Dramatists,* Boston, Houghton, 1916. *Life's a Dream;* tr. in part by R. C. Trench. In *Life's a Dream,* etc. London, 1856. Same, 2d ed., London, Macmillan, 1880. *Such Stuff as Dreams Are Made Of;* tr. by Edward FitzGerald. In *The Mighty Magician,* etc., Bungay, 1877. Same, in Edward FitzGerald, *Letters and Literary Remains.* Vol. III, London, 1889. Same, in *Eight Dramas of Calderon,* London, Macmillan, 1906.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 1547–1616.

Los habladores. 1 act. (Attributed to Cervantes.) *The Talkers;* tr. by Edith Fahnestock and Florence Donnell White. In *The Colonnade,* XII, New York, July, 1916.

El juez de los divorcios. 1 act. *The Judge of the Divorce Court;* tr. by Edith Fahnestock and Florence Donnell White. In *The Colonnade,* XIII, No. 5, New York, September, 1919.

La Numancia. 4 acts. *Numantia, a Tragedy;* tr. by Gordon Willoughby James Gyll. In *The Voyage to Parnassus,* etc., London, Murray, 1870. *Numantia, a Tragedy;* tr. by James Y. Gibson, London, Paul, 1885.

El trato de Argel. 4 acts. *The Commerce of Algiers;* tr. by Gordon Willoughby James Gyll. In *The Voyage to Parnassus,* etc., London, 1870.

[3] See Trench, *Life's a Dream* (London, 1856), p. 119.

DICENTA, JOAQUÍN, 1863–1917.

Juan José. 3 acts. 1895. *Juan José;* tr. by Mark Skidmore. In *Contemporary Spanish Dramatists,* by C. A. Turrell, Boston, Badger, 1919.

ECHEGARAY, JOSÉ, 1832–1916.

La cantante callejera. 1 act. 1896.* *The Street Singer;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *The Drama,* No. 25, Chicago, 1917.

El gran Galeoto. 3 acts. 1881.* *The Great Galeoto;* tr. by Caroline Sheldon, Grinnell, Iowa, Ray & Frisbie, 1912. *The Great Galeoto;* tr. by J. S. Fassett, Jr., Boston, Badger, [1914] (Contemporary Dramatists' Series). *The Great Galeoto;* tr. by Hannah Lynch, with an introduction by Elizabeth R. Hunt, New York, Doubleday, 1914 (Drama League Series of Plays, Vol. III). Same; tr. with an introduction by Hannah Lynch, London, Lane, 1895. *The Great Galeoto;* tr. by Eleanor Bontecou. In B. H. Clark, ed., *Masterpieces of Modern Spanish Drama,* New York, Duffield, 1917. *The World and His Wife;* tr. by C. F. Nirdlinger, New York, Kennerley. 1908.

El hijo de Don Juan. 3 acts. 1892.* *The Son of Don Juan;* tr. by James Graham, Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1895, 1903, 1911.

El hombre negro. 3 acts. 1898.* *The Man in Black;* tr. by Ellen Watson. In Garnett, Vallée and Brandl, eds., the *Universal Anthology,* New York, Merrill, [1899–1902].

El loco Dios. 4 acts. 1900.* *The Madman Divine;* tr. by Elizabeth H. West. In *Poet Lore,* XIX, Boston, 1908. Same, Boston, Badger, 1912 (Poet Lore Plays).

Mariana. 3 acts. 1892.* *Mariana;* tr. by James Graham, London, Unwin, n.d. Same, Boston, Little, Brown &

Co., 1903. *Mariana;* tr. by Federico Sarda and Carlos D. S. Wuppermann, New York, Moods Publishing Company, 1910. Same, New York, Boni & Liveright, Inc., 1918.

O locura o santidad. 3 acts. 1877.* *Folly or Saintliness;* tr. with an introduction by Hannah Lynch. In *The Great Galeoto,* London, Lane, 1895. *Madman or Saint;* tr. by Ruth Lansing. In *Poet Lore,* XXIII, Boston, 1912.

Siempre en ridículo. 3 acts. 1890.* *Always Ridiculous;* tr. by T. Walter Gilkyson, Boston, Badger, 1916 (Poet Lore Plays, Series 2). Same, in *Poet Lore,* XXVII, Boston, 1916.

Fernández de Moratín, Leandro (1760–1828).

El barón. 2 acts. 1803. *The Baron, a Comedy in Two Acts, Translated from the Spanish of Inarco Celenio;* tr. by Fanny Holcroft. In *The Theatrical Recorder,* Vol. II, No. 11, London, 1805.

Gómez de Avellaneda, Gertrudis (1814–1873).

Baltasar. 4 acts. 1858. *Belshazzar;* tr. by William Freeman Burbank, San Francisco, 1914.

Guimerá, Ángel, 1847– .

La pecadora. 3 acts. 1902.* *La pecadora (Daniela);* tr. by Wallace Gillpatrick, New York, Hispanic Society (Putnam), 1916. *Daniela;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In B. H. Clark, ed., *Masterpieces of Modern Spanish Drama,* New York, 1917.

Terra baixa. (Spanish, *Tierra baja.*) 3 acts. 1896. *Marta of the Lowlands;* tr. into Spanish by José Echegaray and into English by Wallace Gillpatrick, with an introduction by J. G. Underhill, New York, Doubleday, 1914 (Drama League Series of Plays, Vol. VIII).

HURTADO DE MENDOZA, ANTONIO (1586–1644).

Querer por sólo querer. 3 acts. *Love for Love's Sake;* tr. by Sir Richard Fanshawe, 1670.[4]

LINARES RIVAS, MANUEL, 1867–

La garra. 2 acts. 1914. *The Claws;* tr. by C. A. Turrell. In *Contemporary Spanish Dramatists,* Boston, Badger, 1919.

MARQUINA, EDUARDO, 1879–

Cuando florezcan los rosales. 3 acts. 1913. *When the Roses Bloom Again;* tr. by C. A. Turrell. In *Contemporary Spanish Dramatists,* Boston, Badger, 1919.

MARTÍNEZ SIERRA, GREGORIO, 1881– .

Canción de cuna. 2 acts. 1911.* *The Cradle Song;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Poet Lore,* XXVIII, No. 6, Boston, 1917.

El enamorado. 1912. *The Lover;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *The Stratford Journal,* Vol. V, July, 1919.

Hechizo de amor. 1 act and 2 scenes. 1908.* *Love Magic;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *The Drama,* No. 25, Chicago, February, 1917.

MORETO Y CAVAÑA, AGUSTÍN, 1618–1669.

El desdén con el desdén. 3 acts. *Donna Diana;* adapted "from the German version" by Westland Marston. *Dramatic and Poetical Works,* Vol. II, London, 1876. *Love's Victory; or, The School for Pride;* adapted by G. Hyde, London and Edinburgh, 1825.

Los pastores (anonymous). *Los Pastores, a Mexican Play of the Nativity;* tr. by M. R. Cole, Boston, Houghton, 1907.

PÉREZ GALDÓS, BENITO, 1843–1920.

El abuelo. 5 acts. 1897.* *The Grandfather;* tr. by Elizabeth Wallace. In *Poet Lore,* XXI, Boston, 1910.

[4] See Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature,* II, p. 332, note 14.

Electra. 5 acts. 1901.* *Electra;* tr. anonymously. In *The Drama,* No. 2, Chicago, 1911. *Electra;* tr. by C. A. Turrell. In *Contemporary Spanish Dramatists,* Boston, Badger, 1919.

La de San Quintín. 3 acts. 1894.* *The Duchess of San Quentin;* tr. by P. M. Hayden. In B. H. Clark, ed., *Masterpieces of Modern Spanish Drama,* New York, 1917.

Roxas Zorrilla, Francisco de, 1607–1648.

Los vandos de Verona, Montescos y Capeletes. 3 acts. *Los Bandos de Verona, Montescos y Capeletes;* tr. in part by F. W. Cosens, London, 1874.

Rueda, Lope de, 1510(?)–1565.

El paso séptimo (*Las aceitunas*). 1 act. *The Olives;* tr. by G. H. Lewis. In *The Spanish Drama,* London, 1845. *The Seventh Farce of Lope de Rueda;* tr. by W. H. H. Chambers. In A. Bates, *The Drama,* Vol. VI, London, 1903.

Rusiñol, Santiago, 1861– .

El titella prodig. 1 act and 4 scenes. [1911.] *The Prodigal Doll;* tr. J. G. Underhill. In *The Drama,* No. 25, Chicago, February, 1917.

Solís y Rivadeneyra, Antonio de (1610–1686).

Un bobo hace ciento. 3 acts. *One Fool Makes Many;* tr. attributed to Lord Holland. In *Three Comedies,* etc., London, 1807.

Tamayo y Baus, Manuel, 1829–1898.

Un drama nuevo. 3 acts. 1867.* *A New Drama;* tr. by J. D. Fitz-Gerald and T. H. Guild, New York, Hispanic Society, 1915.

Torres Naharro, Bartolomé de, ——1531 (?).

Comedia hymenea. 5 acts. *Hymen (Comedia Himenea);*

tr. by W. H. H. Chambers. In A. Bates, *The Drama,* Vol. VI, London, 1903.

VALLE-INCLÁN, RAMÓN DEL, 1869– .

La cabeza del dragón. 6 scenes. 1914. *The Dragon's Head;* tr. by May Heywood Brown. In *Poet Lore,* XXIX, No. 5, Boston, 1918.

VEGA CARPIO, LOPE FÉLIX DE, 1562–1635.

Castelvines y Monteses. 3 acts. *Castelvines y Monteses. Tragicomedia;* tr. by F. W. Cosens, London, 1869. *Romeo and Juliet* (a summary and abridged translation). For W. Griffin, London, 1770.

La Estrella de Sevilla (?) 3 acts. *The Star of Seville;* tr. by P. M. Hayden. In Brander Matthews, ed., *The Chief European Dramatists,* Boston, 1916.

El mejor alcalde el rey. 3 acts. *The King the Greatest Alcalde;* tr. by J. G. Underhill. In *Poet Lore,* XXIX, No. 4, Boston, 1918.

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IRREGULAR EPIC METERS

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE METER OF THE *POEM OF THE CID* AND OF CERTAIN ANGLO-NORMAN, FRANCO-ITALIAN, AND VENETIAN EPIC POEMS

I

The adventures of Sir Boves of Hamtoun were sung in many popular heroic poems during the late Middle Ages. Stimming has published two continental versions[1] dating from the twelfth or the thirteenth century, both in manuscripts of the fourteenth century. The meter of the two poems is the *décasyllabe* (4 + 6 according to the French manner of counting, or 5 + 7 as the Spaniards and Italians count syllables). It is quite regular, with only here and there an irregular line.

Several years earlier Stimming published in one volume two Anglo-Norman versions of the adventures of Sir Boves of Hamtoun, from manuscripts, one of the thirteenth century and the other of the fourteenth.[2] These Anglo-Norman verses are so irregular in form that it is difficult to determine which is the basic meter. Stimming is of the opinion that it is the alexandrine, but I am more inclined to believe it to be the *décasyllabe,* since the first hemistichs are as a rule somewhat shorter than the second, and, moreover, the continental versions have the *décasyllabe.*

Both Anglo-Norman versions are fragmentary and they agree in content only in a relatively few lines. I give here some of these lines, taken from B which Stimming considers

[1] *Der festländische Bueve de Hantone,* ed. Albert Stimming, *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur,* I, 25, Dresden, 1911, and II, 30, Dresden, 1912.

[2] *Der anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone,* ed. Albert Stimming, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1889, in the Bibliotheca Normannica, Vol. VII.

a better text than D. One passage is chosen to illustrate lines in which the first hemistich is the shorter, while the other passage has lines with hemistichs of about equal length:

E Boefs le veit,—countre li est levez,
le chevaler—ad le poins fortment enhaucez,
desuz le oi—li ad tel coup doné
ke il abati Boefs—plat a son pe.
E hastivement—se est Boefs redrescé;
ore veit il bien—que mult fu afamé.
«Ha, dieus!» dist il,—«mult sui enfeblé»;[3]

Issi dist la pucele,—mult out le quer dolent.
Por l'amur de Boefs—se garda chastement,
le destrer e le espeie—garda ensement
A taunt i vint un roi—fort e combataunt,
l'en le apele—Yvori de Munbraunt,
quinze rois out suz li—tuz coroune portaunt.
Il vint al roi Hermine—sa file demaundaunt,
Hermine li graunta—mult deboneirement.[4]

In order to make the meter more nearly regular Stimming suggests[5] separating occasionally a personal pronoun object from its verb, an article or a possessive adjective from its noun, etc., as in:

e a son pere le—out sovent demaundé (v. 26).
que il ne lui coupe le—chef o un branc de ascer (v. 63).
si jeo tenisse en ma—mein mon branc asceré (v. 1058).

This sort of division seems most improbable.

I have selected the following lines to illustrate the various metrical arrangements of the Anglo-Norman versions:[6]

[3] Stimming, *op. cit.*, p. 41, vv. 1050–1056.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 37, vv. 989–996.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

[6] The count is according to the French system; thus, 3 + 5, 4 + 4, etc. (French count) equal 4 + 6, 5 + 5, etc. (Spanish count), since the Spanish count includes one unstressed syllable at the end of the line whether it be present or not, while the French count stops with the last stressed syllable.

B

3 + 5: Ore oiez,—ke il fest graunt pecché (v. 120).
4 + 4: «Par Mahun! dame,—Boefs le prisé» (v. 746).
4 + 5: En Alemaine—ja ne demorrez (v. 52).
4 + 6: jeo sui malade—si ne ai point de saunté (v. 125).
4 + 8: e kaunt a moi—ne volez congé demaunder (v. 294).
5 + 4: Mult ama li rois—Boefs le sené (v. 411).
5 + 5: ke par coup de espeie—conquist tant bons reys (v. 4).
5 + 6: Quant il vit la dame,—si l'ad mis a reisun (v. 110).
5 + 7: en vostre foreste—ad un par desuz la mer (v. 134).
6 + 4: pus vodrai ta mulier—a mon us prendre (v. 152).
6 + 5: Si vus volez oyer,—jeo vus en dirrai (v. 5).
6 + 6: il out a noun Guioun,—chevaler fu prisez (v. 11).
6 + 7: un messager apele—e lui dist ses voluntez (v. 191).
7 + 5: savez vus, ou jeo purrai—un sengler trover (v. 132).
7 + 6: kaunt il verra mon seignur,—ke il seit tot apresté (v. 65).
7 + 7: e pur ceo ke cil fu mort—ke porta lur gonfanoun (v. 595).
8 + 5: e par la mer les Sarazins—taunt de tens siglerent (v. 361).
8 + 6: jeo lui envoierai mon seignur—ausi com pur chacer (v. 60).

D

2 + 5: pus montent—a chivals quernu (v. 3212).
3 + 4: Kant veit Boun—descendre al pez (v. 3079).
3 + 5: «Par mun chef!»—dist Boves, «nanil» (v. 3278).
3 + 6: si lur baise,—puis lur ad demandez (v. 3106).
3 + 7: Kant l'entent,—si li prent a regarder (v. 3406).
4 + 3: «Bel fiz», dist il,—«cest an nent» (v. 3270).
4 + 4: avant ke sey—de cels vengez (v. 3086).
4 + 5: grant est la noise—ke il ont comencé (v. 3131).
4 + 6: A tant fist Boves—pur ces fiz demander (v. 3007).
4 + 7: [e] lur ad conté—ke son tresor ad emblé (v. 3175).
5 + 4: [e] mandez l'amirail—«sanz demorer» (v. 3162).
5 + 5: «Par mun chef!» dist Boves,—«tant su plus joiant» (v. 3199).
5 + 6: [e] respont Yvori: —«Ore as tu ben parlé» (v. 3163).
5 + 7: de soler de haut—li covendreit avaler (v. 1019).
6 + 5: «Par foi!» dist l'amirail,—«bien ses tu parler» (v. 3179).
6 + 6: Yvori n'est pas mort,—ens est enprisoné (v. 3309).
7 + 5: e de part le duc Terri,—vostre chier enfant (v. 3396).

Stimming states[7] that in the first 500 lines—1,000 hemistichs—he found 398 hemistichs of 5 syllables and 521 of 6 syllables. The remaining 81 hemistichs apparently had fewer than 5 or more than 6 syllables. This is interesting, but when one considers the freedom with which Stimming divides the lines in order to give the hemistichs the number of syllables he wishes them to have, one cannot help believing that the number of metrically irregular half-lines is greater than Stimming will admit.

In order to ascertain the proportion of half-lines of 4 syllables, 5 syllables, etc., I selected the first 400 lines, where the *laisses* are short, and verses 561–902, where the *laisses* are longer, of B, and verses 3055–3580 of D. I counted only the "sure" hemistichs[8] with the following result (according to the French system of counting syllables):

B { First hemistich: (3) 3, (4) 60, (5) 134, (6) 140, (7) 22, (8) 9;
Second hemistich: (4) 10, (5) 171, (6) 238, (7) 16, (8) 1.

D { First hemistich: (2) 2, (3) 18, (4) 139, (5) 62, (6) 25, (7) 4;
Second hemistich: (3) 3, (4) 35, (5) 108, (6) 96, (7) 7, (8) 1.

The percentages run as follows:

		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
B	First hemistich:	.....	.00,81	.16,30	.36,41	.38,04	.05,98	.02,43
	Second hemistich:	.....	.....	.02,29	.39,22	.54,59	.03,67	.00,23
D	First hemistich:	.00,80	.07,20	.55,60	.24,80	.10,00	.01,60	.....
	Second hemistich:	.....	.01,20	.14,00	.43,20	.38,40	.02,80	.00,40

We have seen that Stimming believes the basic meter of these poems to have been the Alexandrine (6 + 6, French count). The percentages given above would seem to indicate

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

[8] By "sure" hemistichs I mean those in which there are no words of doubtful syllabication and in which there is no possibility of synalepha between words.

that the basic meter of D is certainly, and that of B probably, the *décasyllabe.* This will be made clear by comparing the percentages of hemistichs with 4 and with 6 syllables.

The assonance of the Anglo-Norman versions is quite varied, like that of the continental French versions. In both B and D the assonance that occurs oftenest—in more than half of all the lines—is *é.* The second in number is *a,* with fewer of *i* and *ou,* and still fewer feminine lines ending in *é-e, á-e, í-e,* and *óu-e,* etc.

The meter of these Anglo-Norman verses is about as irregular as that of the Spanish popular heroic poems of the same period. The French poets on the Continent were more inclined to count their syllables with exactness, although even they were sometimes careless;[9] but the Anglo-Norman poets seemed to be quite satisfied with an approximate count in which a syllable or two more or less in a hemistich do not matter. Tobler, speaking of some French verses written in England that were metrically *"fort imparfaits,"* says:

> Cela est vrai, en général (non pas au même degré de tous les poèmes anglo-normands), des ouvrages de poésie française écrits en Angleterre; les plus imparfaits même laissent deviner à peu près l'espèce de vers français qui leur a servi de modèle; mais on doit reconnaître aussi que les meilleurs eux-mêmes n'ont pas pu arriver à une imitation parfaite. L'hypothèse, émise par Suchier, que ces poèmes ont eu diverses licences (omission de la première syllabe de l'hémistiche, placement de la césure entre des mots liés étroitement, etc.), n'éclaire guère la question.[10]

[9] Cf. Adolphe Tobler, *Le Ver français ancien et moderne,* traduit par Breul et Sudre, Paris, 1885, pp. 11 f. Tobler does not hesitate to criticize the fashion of correcting all verses in the critical editions so as to make them metrically perfect: «Il n'est pas bien établi *a priori,* que l'on ait toujours eu le droit de se défaire, par des suppressions, du surplus des syllabes.»

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 11, n. 2.

II

In 1872 Pio Rajna published a volume of *Ricerche*[11] which contains a Venetian version of *Buovo d'Antona,* an account of two Tuscan versions in *ottava rima,* and the text of a prose version in the *Reali di Francia.* A few years later he published a fragment of a Franco-Italian version.[12] This fragment is found in a manuscript of the fourteenth century; it contains 446 lines, and the language is "una stranissima mistura in cui prevale la lingua d' oïl."[13] The basic meter, if there be such, seems to have been 4 + 6 (French count), but there are passages where verses of 6 + 6 are commoner, and there are many verses that seem to be wholly irregular. Note the following passages:

E un corteus—que trence voluntier.
Per grande ira—la lo vait atrencer,
E che de mans—est li cortes alé;
Soto la tabla—est li cortelo alés.
E li ber Bovo—si est in tera tuto pleyé,
Soto la tabla,—per li cortes pier.
(vv. 208–213)

Done e chavalier—si n'oit che parler;
La novela fo çonta—a Drusiana al viso clier,
La fia de li roy—che Arminia mantien:
S'ela non lo ve,—la cre da dol raier.
E la çentil dama—a fato un corer;
De done ben .lx.—su le palasio vient.
E Drusiana vient su—per la sala a piè;
(vv. 183–189)

[11] *Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia per Pio Rajna, seguite dal libro delle Storie di Fioravante e dal Cantare di Buovo d'Antona. I Reali di Francia,* Vol. I, Bologna, Gaetano Romagnoli, 1872.

[12] *"Frammenti di ridazioni italiane del Buovo d'Antona: nuovi frammenti francoitaliani,"* in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* XI, 153–184.

[13] *Ricerche,* p. 146.

E de for dela çambra—Bovo sì sen vien,
E vient a le plaçe—li nobel bacalier,
E non trova—chi li fese destorbier.
Per la maistra porta—vient Bovo li ber;
Inver San Simon—oit li camin piè:
Avanty che sia sera—avrà le camin falé.
E le gran bosco—Bovo est intré.
Se l'è si ver—co dise li cantier,
Tre di va *Bovo,*—non trova da mançier,
Se no rayse d'erba,—del'aqua del fosé.
(vv. 75–84)

The following verses illustrate the metrical irregularities of the poem:

2 + 5: Or vay,—e si' bon scuder (v. 178).
3 + 5: Una fant—si prist a clamer (v. 25).
3 + 6: Delo fante—vosemo gadagner (v. 167).
4 + 4: «Dama,» dit el,—or la prendés (v. 337).
4 + 5: Ai laso mi!—dit Bovo li ber (v. 21).
4 + 6: S'el è si ver—com dise li cantier (v. 180).
4 + 7: E sunt vegnù—sor li rivaço del mer (v. 105).
4 + 8: Li dit: «Signor,—vedi li roy de sta cité» (v. 145).
4 + 14: «E diseli—che de la morte de son pier son fort desconsolé» (v. 33).[14]
5 + 4: E permé la çosta—Bovo sen vien (v. 283).
5 + 5: E vient a la çanbra—da Bovo li ber (v. 61).
5 + 6: Alcider lo vol,—a morte delivrer (v. 6).
5 + 7: E li merchadanti—in lo batel est intré (v. 104).
5 + 8: Che la sta sì grama—dela morte de vostro pier (v. 49).
6 + 4: E .xxx. marche d'oro—li fis doner (v. 170).
6 + 5: E de for dela çanbra—Bovo si sen vien (v. 75).
6 + 6: E davanti la nive—le rois est aresté (v. 150).
6 + 7: Là che li vite B.,—in cela parte sen vien (v. 106).
6 + 8: E la bela Drusiana—ali balcon est apuçé (v. 301).
7 + 5: E quelo li la donà—per far luy a gre (v. 277).
7 + 6: Quando vu serì cresù—e fato civaler (v. 51).
7 + 7: Per ordenar le viande—cun lo mastro cusiner (v. 224).

[14] The words *"de la morte de son pier"* seem to have been added by way of explanation.

8 + 5: Feme dar un poco de pan—per l'amor de Dié (v. 116).
8 + 7: E s'elo serà sarasin—sì lo lasaremo ster (v. 103).
10 + 5: E de li chavalier de Marchabrun—un n'oit incontré (v. 284).
Undivided (?): «Sancta Maria mier, dit el (v. 153).
Undivided (?): Mo fus-tù mio scoder!» (v. 154).
Undivided (?): Chon una çirlanda in cef (v. 308).

A count of the sure hemistichs gives the following result (French count):

First hemistich: (2) 8, (3) 26, (4) 111, (5) 82, (6) 61, (7) 15, (8) 4, (10) 1, (12) 1.
Second hemistich: (3) 1, (4) 9, (5) 65, (6) 136, (7) 34, (8) 14, (9) 3.

The percentages are as follows:

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
First hemistich:	.02,59	.08,42	.35,92	.26,54	.19,74	.04,85	.01,29	.....
	10	12						
	.00,32	.00,32[15]						
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Second hemistich:	.....	.00,38	.03,44	.24,83	.51,95	.12,99	.05,35	.01,14
	10	12						
	.....	.....						

The assonance is *-é* throughout the entire poem. Pio Rajna attributes the metrical irregularity of the verses of this poem, at least in part, to

la conseguenza inevitabile della sostituzione di una favella più copiosa di sillabe ad una rattrapitasi, per così dire, nelle consonanti e nelle vocali toniche.[16]

[15] By reading all the hemistichs of all the lines (except 13 doubtful lines), and using synalepha as it is used in modern Italian verse, the following percentages (French count) were obtained for the more important numbers:

	3	4	5	6	7
First hemistich:	.10	.31	.25	.23	.06
Second hemistich:	...	.05	.22	.53	.13

It will be noted that the percentages do not differ greatly from those obtained by counting only the "sure" hemistichs. This fact may indicate that the lines of the Franco-Italian poem were read with synalepha.

[16] *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XI, p. 159.

This is doubtless true to a certain extent, but it is an interesting fact that in this poem many second hemistichs have five syllables where in the French version they would certainly have six, as in:

Ai lasso mi!—dit Bovo li ber (v. 21).

In the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* W. Meyer published a series of *Franko-italienische Studien.* In IX (pp. 597 ff.) he gives the text of a thirteenth-century manuscript copy of a version of *Anseis de Carthage,* and he compares it with a Picard-Walloon version. The latter has approximately regular 4 + 6 (French count) lines, while the Franco-Italian version is not nearly so regular. Compare the following lines (the Picard-Walloon version is given first in each pair):

Car il n'est hom—ki de meillor vous die
Car il n'est nus hom—ki de melor ne die (v. 17).

Li empereres—quant la tiere ot saisie
L'emperer—quant oit la tere sasie (v. 28).

Breton, normant—e tout li hurepois
Bretons e normant—et tuit li aripois (v. 39).

Entre les autres—avait I haut baron
Entro les altres—avait I alto baron (v. 73).

C'est une cose—quil ont mult desiree
Co ert une çose—que cascune oit desiree (v. 355).

Meyer calls attention to syntactic changes that affect the meter, and he compares, for instance, the French *"et vait ferir"* with the Franco-Italian *"et vait a ferir"* (64 *b*). Sometimes the Franco-Italian lines have been changed in order to explain the subject-matter, as in *"le rois Anseis feri*

lui" for *"Anseis fert lui"* (78 *a*), and in *"pois dist li rois bels nef"* for *"pois dist bels nef"* (115), etc.

In Vol. X (pp. 22–55) of the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* W. Meyer compares the French and the Franco-Italian versions of *Aspremont,* and here too the French meter is regular, while the Franco-Italian is irregular. Compare the following lines:

Ne ne donna—consel petit ne grant
Unques ni dona—conseil a petit ne a grant (v. 6).

Car honorez—an fu an son vivant
Kar honores—en fu a toito son vivant (v. 11).[17]

It is my purpose in this article to limit the discussion of metrical irregularity in Anglo-Norman and Franco-Italian popular heroic poems to those that have to do with the adventures of Sir Boves of Hamtoun, but I have permitted myself to mention *Anseis de Carthage* and *Aspremont* merely as evidence that such irregularity is not limited to the Boves poems. These Franco-Italian poems were composed in French, but the French was modified somewhat so as to make it more intelligible to northern Italians. The result is a language that is artificial, and such, probably, as was never spoken, unless it may possibly represent the sort of French that Italians learned to speak when the throngs of French crusaders were passing through northern Italy on their way to the Holy Land. In any case, the meter of these Franco-Italian epic poems is about as irregular as that of the *Poem of the Cid.*

[17] In the edition of *La Chanson d'Aspremont,* edited by Louis Brandin, in *Les classiques français du moyen âge,* Paris, Champion, 1919, these lines are as follows:

Ainc ne dona—consel petit ne grant (v. 6)
Car honorés—en fu tolt son vivant (v. 10).

III

In the *Ricerche* to which reference has already been made frequently in this article, Pio Rajna says (p. 115) that he has found five popular versions of *Buovo d'Antona* that were composed in Italy. In my opinion, the most interesting version is a poem of 2,521 verses, in the Venetian dialect. The manuscript is probably of the second half of the fourteenth century. The Franco-Italian version that was described in the second part of this article and the Venetian version differ greatly in details, but Pio Rajna believes that they are *"una sola versione"* in their relation to the French texts.[18] He is of the opinion that neither text is a transcription of the one that first brought the story of *Buovo* into Italy.[19] In fact, he holds that these French epic poems were first brought into Italy by *"la viva voce dei giullari"* rather than by *"la morta lettera dei manoscritti."*[20] He adds, however, that

> i giullari ... presto alla viva voce tennero dietro i manoscritti, che bentosto diedero luogo a versioni ed imitazioni nel volgare toscano.

The following passages will show to what degree the Venetian version of *Buovo d'Antona* differs from the French and the Anglo-Norman versions even where they describe the same incident:

> Passe la terre et les amples päis,
> Deus[21] jors pleniers erra l'enfes ensi
> Que ne menja ne ne but ne dormi
> Desus la sele soumeilla un petit...
> Et tant esra qu'il vint au parissir,

[18] *Ricerche*, p. 135.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[21] Stimming has added here in italics *Deus*. The other two texts have *treis* and *tre*.

Devant lui vit un paumier pelerin,
Qui s'ert assis desous l'ombre d'un pin;
Il le salue, com ja porrés öir:
«Cil damedieus qui en la crois fu mis,
Qui mer et monde saina et benëi,
Il saut et gart cel courtois pelerin.»
Dist li paumiers: «Dieus benëie ti,
Venés digner, damosiaus, biaus amis,
Que je ai ci plain un boucel de vin,
Tu en aras tout plain cest maserin
Et si aras de mon pain autresi.»
Par la main destre a le baron saisi,
Dejouste lui l'a au mengier assis,
L'erbe laist paistre au mulet arrabi.[22]

Il passa les mounz e les vaus ensement,
treis jours chevacha, ne vist homme vivaunt.
Le quart jour a matin, com il va chevachaunt,
trova un paumer suz un arbre seaunt,
au diner fut asis tot dreit en present,
quatre pains graunz avoit devaunt li de furment
e plein deus barils de mult bon piment.
Le paumer de pres veit le chevaler venaunt.
«Descendez, beau sire, pur deu, le tut pussaunt!
venez diner ov mei, si deu te seit eidaunt!»
«Paumer,» ceo dist Bœfs, «deu vus seit garaunt!
Unkes ne fustes vilein, jeo sai certeinement.»
Il descent de le cheval toust e ignelement,
feim aveit mult grant si mangue forment,
e le paumer le dona a li mult leement.[23]

Bovo insì dela porta, in lo camin intrà.
S' el' è cossì vero como dixe lo cantar,
Tre dì va Bovo, ch' elo no mança
Se-no erbe e radixe ch' elo trova per li prà.
«Ay Dio,» disse Bovo, «Santa Maria mar,

[22] *Der festländische Bueve de Hantone*, Fassung II, ed. Stimming (Dresden, 1912), vv. 2450–2453 and 2459–2473.

[23] Anglo-Norman version B., vv. 820–834.

Quando io camino, mal trovo da mançar.»
Avanti lui se prexe a guardar;
Soto un oliver vete un palmer star:
In-ançi avea pan e vin e carne assa'.
Quando Bovo lo vete in quela parte andà;
Po' del palafren elo desmontà.
«Palmer,» disse Bovo, «ben siè vu trovà
S' el te plaxe con-ti voria mançar.»
Respoxe lo palmer: «A toa voluntà.»
E Bovo alora començà a mançar;
Po' prexe un botaço, ala boca se levà,
E lo palmer un altro lin-prexentà:
«Meser, bevè de questo, ch' el' è mior assa'.»
Bovo lo prexe, sì ne beve a soa voluntà.
Como elo l'ave bevù el fo indormençà
Per che quel botaço era apoxonà.[24]

The basic meter of the Venetian version, like that of the French, the Anglo-Norman and the Franco-Italian versions of *Boves of Hamtoun,* may be 4 + 6 (French count) or 5 + 7 (Spanish and Italian count).[25] In speaking of the meter of the Venetian poem, the Italian-Spanish system of counting syllables is used.

But the meter of the Venetian poem is quite irregular. For the most part long and short lines are intermingled without any apparent system, but occasionally there will be a passage in which the first hemistichs of most lines have 5 syllables, and then there will come a passage with many long first hemistichs. Note the two passages that follow:

La dona l' olde,—sil fè apariar,
Sovra un palafren—lo fè montar;
Elo li monta—che streve non pià.
Esse d' Antona—la bona cità.
Ver de Magança—el prexe caminar.

[24] Venetian version, vv. 866–886.

[25] Pio Rajna says in the *Ricerche:* "Il metro è il decasillabo tronco misurato col massimo arbitrio" (p. 125).

Defin ala citade—elo no se astalà;
Vene ala plaça,—sul palaço montà;
O' el vete Dodon—in quela parte andà:
«Domenedio,—lo messaço sì parlà,
Che fi lo mondo,—e a fin lo condurà,
Salve e guarde—la çente de-sta cità,
E sovra tuti—Dodon lo signor natural.»
Elo respoxe:—«Ben vignè, dolce frar;
Unde ve'-tu, amigo—e de qual contra'?»
Elo respoxe:—«Ben lo voio contar.
Io son d'Antona—la bona cità;
Messaçer son de Blondoia—la dona honora',
La moier de Guidon,—lo dux aprixià.
Per mi ve manda—salù e amistà,
Che per marido—ve volse piar.
(vv. 38–57).

In lo bosco de Sclaravena—v' averì inboscar
Che là manderà—lo dux a caçar
Elo no averà con si—alguna arma portar;
In soa conpagna—.xx. çoveni diè menar;
Dela morte de vostro pare—ve porì vendegar.»
Quando Dodon l' intende—el prexe a parlar:
«Fiol de putan,—Dio te dia mal afar;
Guidon è pro chavalier—per le arme portar.
S' el' alçixe mio pare—de mi farà altretal.
Elo per quel tradimento—sì v' à qui mandar.
(vv. 62–71).

The following lines illustrate the various metrical arrangements in the Venetian version (Italian and Spanish count):

3 + 7: Lo fante—ve voio ben pagar (v. 434).
4 + 5: E molt forte—lo va strençant (v. 199).
4 + 6: Sinibaldo—no lo po trovà (v. 155).
4 + 7: Dan Albrigo—lo confalon portà (v. 91).
4 + 8: S' el vegnisse—ch' el portasse guarnimant (v. 228).
4 + 9: Che d' Antona—.lx. chavelier sen va (v. 194).
4 + 10: «Tristo mi!»—disse Marcabrun l' incoronà (v. 504).
4 + 11: «Messer no,»—li mercadanti respoxo li à (v. 430).
5 + 4: Suli destreri—ben armà (v. 276).

5 + 5: In la prexon—me fe caçar (v. 76).
5 + 6: Esse d' Antona—la bona cità (v. 41).
5 + 7: Tuti li drapi—me vederai strazar (v. 33).
5 + 8: Io manderò—lo dux Guidon a cazar (v. 20).
5 + 9: E sovra tuti—Dodon lo signor natural (v. 49).
5 + 10: Ele son bele,—beli servidor mester li fa (v. 461).
6 + 5: Lo destrer corente—se fè menar (v. 87).
6 + 6: En una prixon—l' à fato caçar (v. 84).
6 + 7: Questo sì ve digo—chell' è la verità (v. 15).
6 + 8: S' el' è cossì vero—como dixe lo cantar (v. 350).[26]
6 + 10: «Meser,» dise Bovo,—«per denari m'avessi conprar» (v. 757).
6 + 11: En tuto lo mundo—mior chavaleri no-se trovà (v. 1704).
7 + 5: Sinibaldo lo vete,—sì lo clamà (v. 163).
7 + 6: «Lasso,» disse Guidon,—«tristo mi dolant!» (v. 125).
7 + 7: Quando Rizardo l'olde—el' à dolor mortal (v. 36).
7 + 8: Lo color de so vixo—plu belo de flor de pra (v. 512).
7 + 9: Elo li vegnerà,—quando li farì comandar (v. 832).
8 + 5: Avanti che lo livrer—mançado l' à (v. 340).
8 + 6: Alla zità di Maganza—ti convien andar (v. 9).
8 + 7: Con tuti li chavalieri—in ayguayto se-sta (v. 96).
8 + 8: «Rizardo,» disse la donna,—«intendè lo mi' parlà» (v. 8).
9 + 5: In lo bosco de Sclaravena—Dodon intrà (v. 95).
9 + 6: Eli fo ben quindexe milia—ch' in destrer montà (v. 90).
9 + 7: Dela morte de vostro pare—ve porì vendegar (v. 66).
9 + 8: In lo bosco de Sclaravena—intrà Guidon le possant (v. 114).
10 + 6: Druxiana s' avete del conseio—che Marcabrun fa (v. 497).
10 + 7: Alora Bovo veste l' usbergo,—le ganbere calçà (v. 634).

Esdrújulos (*sdruccioli*) at the end of the first hemistich are not rare:

En una camara—lo menà a tant (v. 146).
Per quel apostolo—chi pelegrin va quirant (v. 252).
«Lo fante trovàssemo—su la riva del mar (v. 431).
El par un diavolo—d' inferno caçà (v. 1346).
D' una femena—e d' un mastin inçenerà (v. 1355).
Ben .xx. homeni—el fè apariar (v. 1604).

[26] Compare this Italian line, with 6 + 8 syllables (5 + 7 in French count), with the corresponding Franco-Italian line, with 4 + 6 syllables (French count): S' el è si ver—com dise li cantier (v. 180).

Some lines seem too short to divide:

Braço al colo li çità (v. 664).
Pur un sol non scanpà (v. 719).

A count of 2,000 sure hemistichs—1,000 first and 1,000 second hemistichs—gives the following result (Spanish and Italian count):

First hemistich: (2) 3, (3) 16, (4) 105, (5) 362, (6) 240, (7) 164, (8) 77, (9) 25, (10) 8.

Second hemistich: (3) 1, (4) 2, (5) 83, (6) 279, (7) 423, (8) 142, (9) 46, (10) 18, (11) 4.

The percentages are as follows:

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
First hemistich:	.00,30	.01,60	.10,50	.36,20	.24,00	.16,40	.07,70	.02,50
	10	11	12					
	.00,80	.....	.....					
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Second hemistich:	.....	.00,10	.00,20	.08,30	.27,90	.42,30	.14,20	.04,60
	10	11	12					
	.01,80	.00,40	.00,20					

The syllabic meter of this Italian version of *Buovo d'Antona* seems to be about as irregular as that of the *Poem of the Cid*. Pio Rajna makes the following most interesting remark concerning the meter:

Della qualità del verso è scabroso il ragionare; evidentemente l' autore ebbe in animo di servirsi del decasillabo francese—il nostro endecasillabo tronco —; ma dirò io guasti dagli amanuensi od anche solo da arbitrii di scrittura tutti quei versi che non tornano, o perchè sovrabbonda una o più sillabe o perchè ne manca qualcuna? Considerando quanti essi sono e con qual sorta di composizione abbiamo qui a fare non me ne sento il coraggio; arbitrii di misura sono sempre stati e sempre saranno una tra le note distintive della poesia popolare e plebea. Molte pecche attribuisco bene ai copisti, ma più ancora all' autore; perchè non ammetterei che di certe sillabe non accentuate, sulle

quali si scivolava nella recitazione, costui spesso non tenesse conto? L' essenziale a parer mio consiste nella cesura — la quale divide per lo più il verso in due parti disuguali, minore la prima, maggiore la seconda — in quattro o cinque arsi, e soprattutto poi nelle rime.[27]

In the French and Anglo-Norman popular heroic poems, as well as in the Spanish, there was great variety in the assonances. In the Franco-Italian epics, and in this Venetian poem which imitates them, the assonances are usually almost reduced to one, *-é* in the Franco-Italian and *-á* in the Venetian. Here again we find in these Italian epics a certain artificiality. In a sense they were popular, but as popular heroic poems they never became fully acclimated in Italy.[28]

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 152.

[28] Pio Rajna has an interesting note on certain *ciurmadori* who were common not long ago in the Provinces of Venice and Padua, and who may be descendants of the *giullari:*

In *à* terminano generalmente—quasi oserei dir sempre—i loro versi quegli strani ciurmadori, propii del Veneto e più specialmente delle provincie di Venezia e di Padova, che si designano col nome singolare di torototéla-torototà. Io non conosco davvero altri più legittimi discendenti dei giullari che accorrevano nei secoli XIII e XIV alle feste degli Ezzelini e degli Scaligeri. Cantano la ventura al volgo credulo, ma spesso anche scroccano soldi coll' improvvisare versi, due per ciascuna persona, alla gente più colta che si trova adunata nei caffè. Non di rado pungono maliziosamente; ma ciò non impedisce loro di chiedere un tributo alla vittima. Tratto tratto cavano qualche strido da un loro ordigno ad una corda, strumento il più rozzo e ingrato che si possa immaginare, il quale per solito serve anche a raccogliere le offerte, grazie ad un piccolo vaso fermato ad una estremità. La metrica seguitata da questi improvvisatori è semplicissima; ogni verso si compone di due emistichii, ciascuno dei quali dovrebb' essere, ma non è troppo spesso, un ottonario. Il primo emistichio è ordinariamente piano, tronco il secundo. In altre parole la misura fondamentale sarebbe dunque il tetrametro trocaico catalettico, colla cesura tra la seconda e la terza dipodia. Ad ogni momento costoro ripetono come ritornello, e certo anche per cavarsi d' impiccio, il loro proprio nome, torototéla-torototà; e di qui appunto è probabile tragga origine l' uso costante delle rime in *à*. Servano per saggio del poetare di questa gente due versi che udii dalla bocca di un torototéla in un caffè di Modena:

"Quel signor de quei gran bafi—qualche cosa el me darà;
L' è un pochino picoleto—ma de prima qualitá

"Anche la razza dei torototéla-torototà dicono si vada spegnendo come si è spenta quella dei mammouth; però ho voluto dedicar loro questo ricordo" (*Ricerche,* pp. 127–128).

The following are types of the *á* assonance in the Venetian poem: the noun *voluntà* (v. 3), the adverb *qua* (v. 164), the infinitive *parlar* (v. 10), the past participle *ingravedà*, f. (v. 102), and *chlamà*, m. (v. 6), the present indicative, third person singular, *va* (v. 165), and the second person plural, *comandà* (v. 999), the future *servirà* (v. 152), the preterite *montà* (v. 44), etc.

There are five short *laisses* with assonances in *é* (chiefly *-er*), namely vv. 170–179, 208–218, 232–240, 315–327, 1486–1492, making a total of 50 lines.

Two short *laisses*, namely vv. 617–633 and 1121–1127, with a total of 24 lines, have rhyme in *-ado*, with only occasional assonance in *á-o*.

With the exception of these 74 lines, the assonance is *á* throughout the poem.

The lines that end in *-er* are nearest to the original French model, those in *-á* are intermediate, while those in *-ado* have the most idiomatic Italian. The following verses are given as specimens of the three types of assonance or rhyme:

Alora respoxe Riçardo le fer:
«Eo no avea favelado a mia moier.»
Or cavalcha Sinibaldo e li so chavalier,
Con si avea Bovolin mener.
Sinibaldo se volse e prexe a guarder,
E vete la çente chi li va darer.
(vv. 208–213.)

«Madona,» diss' elo, «ben m' avì consià.»
In piè se leva, fè lo corno sonar.
Eli fo ben .xxx. milia chavalieri armà:
Dan Albrigo lo confalon portà.
Esse d' Antona, plu no demorà;
Inver San Symon tosto cavalcà.
(vv. 280–285.)

«S' io non averò arme anderò desarmado;
Eo anderò a piè s' io non averò cavalo;

E sì porterò un gran baston quarado;
A chi darò un colpo serà ben pagado.»
La dona l' olde, molto li è a grado.
Ela disse: «Tu no andarè desarmado;
Dele arme delo Re Galaço tu serè armado.»[29]
(vv. 617–623.)

In the *Ricerche* there is also an account of two later Italian versions of *Buovo d'Antona* in *ottava rima*. One Tuscan version,[30] with 22 *cantari* and 1,400 strophes, is probably derived in part from the Venetian text.[31] This Tuscan version was written, according to Pio Rajna, about the year 1400. Its lines are the regular Italian *endecasillabos* of the period. They have an inner rhythmic accent on either the fourth or the sixth syllable, but they are not divided into two hemistichs. It may be interesting to take a few verses that correspond in the Venetian and the Tuscan poems and show how the writer of the Tuscan poem changed the roughly assonated verses into the *ottava rima:*

(1) Mal abia mio pare e 'l mio parentà
Che assé vechio marido m' à donà,
Che nonn-à far la mia voluntà.
No m' ay Dio se no me n' averò vendichà.

[29] In the Anglo-Norman versions there are certain *laisses* in which all or nearly all the lines end in *-aunt* (vv. 13–17, 37–44, etc.).

Similarly in the Venetian version there are *laisses* that end in *-ant*:

Li ber Guidon fè tuto el so talant;
Alora se cense lo bon brand,
Montà sovra un palafren anblant;
Esse d' Antona con .x(x). nobeli infant.
In lo bosco de Sclaravena intrà Guidon le possant;
Cerca la foresta de drio e davant;
De salvadexine prende al so talant;
Avanti ch' el n' essa el serà dolant.
(vv. 110–117.)

[30] For the bibliography of this version which has often been printed, see *Ricerche,* p. 155, n.

[31] For an account of the other version in *ottava rima,* with 37 *cantari* and 2,150 strophes, see *Ricerche,* pp. 209 ff.

Un suo segreto ella apelà,
Lo qual Rizardo fo chlamà,
Chi era suo home e de son masnà.

(vv. 1–7.)

Diceva: O padre mio, sie maledetto
Il giorno e l' ora che mi maritasti;
Certo ti pagherò di tal dispetto,
Perchè ad un tanto vecchio mi donasti.
Uscì di ciambra, e chiamava un valetto,
Poi tornò indietro e dice: Questo basti.
Questo per nome si chiama Ricardo,
Nutrito in corte e figlio d'un bastardo.

(I, 10.)

(2) De la bela Druziana comença li cantar,
Como ela sta in corte de so par.
Spesse fiade à oldù contar
A nobeli cantadori e bufon e a çublar,
Che Bovo è tornado in soa contrà.

(vv. 224–228.)

Torniamo a Drusiana ch' è in Erminia,
Nel suo palazzo li giunse un buffone,
Che dalla corte di Buovo venia ...
Disse il buffone al re molte ragione,
Come l' era tornato in sua cittade,
Le gran battaglie e la gran dignitade.

(XIV, 9.)

IV

The distinguished Hispanic scholar, D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, has shown that the early popular heroic verse of Castile was metrically irregular.[32] To illustrate this irregu-

[32] Cf. *Cantar de Mio Cid, texto, gramática y vocabulario,* I, 76 ff., Madrid, 1908; *"Elena y María,"* in *Revista de Filología Española,* 1914, pp. 52–96; *"Roncesvalles,"* in *Ibid.,* 1917, pp. 105–204; *"Algunos caracteres primordiales de la literatura española,"* in *Bulletin Hispanique,* 1918, pp. 208 f.

larity I have chosen the following lines from Menéndez Pidal's paleographic edition of the *Poem of the Cid:*

3 + 7: Lidiando—con moros enel campo (v. 499).
3 + 10: «Ya Çid,—en buen ora çinxiestes espada» (v. 439).
4 + 6: Estas archas—prendamos las amas (v. 127).
4 + 7: E demas—los oios delas caras (v. 46).
4 + 8: Si yo biuo,—doblar uos he la soldada (v. 80).
5 + 6: Merced, ya Çid,—barba tan complida (v. 268).
5 + 7: «Rachel ȝ Vidas,—amos me dat las manos» (v. 106).
5 + 8: La missa dicha,—penssemos de caualgar (v. 320).
5 + 9: Prended las archas—ȝ meted las en uuestro saluo (v. 119).
6 + 5: Martin Antolinez—non lo de tarua (v. 96).
6 + 6: Martin Antolinez—caualgo priuado (v. 148).
6 + 7: Por Rachel ȝ Vidas—apriessa demandaua (v. 99).
6 + 8: Vos lo mereçedes,—daruos queremos buen dado (v. 194).
6 + 9: Los montes son altos,—las ramas puian con las nues (v. 2698).
7 + 5: De fuera dela tienda—vn salto daua (v. 1014).
7 + 6: Por todas essas tierras—yuan los mandados (v. 564).
7 + 7: Los moros yazen muertos,—de biuos pocos veo (v. 618).
7 + 8: E prendan bendiçiones—ȝ vayamos recabdando (v. 2226).
7 + 9: Por aduzir las archas—ȝ meter las en uuestro saluo (v. 144).
7 + 10: Auos, Çid don Rodrigo,—en buen ora çinxiestes espada (v. 1706).
8 + 5: Que por miedo de los moros—non dexen nada (v. 448).
8 + 6: Dixo Martin Antolinez—«yo desso me pago (v. 141).
8 + 7: «Comed, conde, deste pan—ȝ beued deste vino (v. 1025).
8 + 8: Con las çinchas corredizas—maian las tan sin sabor (v. 2736).
8 + 9: Quitar quiero Casteion,—oyd, escuellas y Minyaya (v. 529).
9 + 6: Çiento moros ȝ çiento moras—quiero las quitar (v. 534).
9 + 7: Aqui non lo pueden vender—nin dar en presentaia (v. 516).
9 + 8: Direuos delos caualleros—que leuaron el menssaie (v. 1453).
9 + 10: Por vn marcho que despendades—al monesterio dare yo quatro (v. 260).
10 + 7: Grandes son las ganançias que priso—por la tierra do ua (v. 548).
10 + 9: Quando uos los fueredes ferir,—entrare yo del otra part (v. 1696).

A count of the syllables in 987 sure verses (1,974 sure hemistichs) of the *Poem of the Cid* was made by Menéndez Pidal with the following result (the number of syllables in the hemistichs is given in parenthesis).[33]

First hemistich: (4) 24, (5) 130, (6) 266, (7) 327, (8) 166, (9) 51, (10) 18, (11) 4, (12) 1.
Second hemistich: (4) 3, (5) 5, (6) 89, (7) 453, (8) 328, (9) 73, (10) 23, (11) 9, (12) 1, (13) 3.

The percentages are as follows:[34]

	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
First hemistich . .	.02,43	.13,17	.26,95	.33,14	.16,82	.05,17	.01,82	.00,40	.00,10
Second hemistich . .	.00,30	.00,50	.09,02	.45,90	.33,24	.07,40	.02,33	.00,91	.00,10

Menéndez Pidal has shown in several able articles[35] that metrical irregularity is not confined to the verses of the *Poem of the Cid,* but is common to all the popular heroic poems in old Spanish that are now extant.

V

The following tables give a summary of the percentages of syllables in the Anglo-Norman, Franco-Italian and Venetian versions of *Boves of Hamtoun,* and in the *Poem of the Cid*:[36]

[33] *Op. cit.,* pp. 90–91.

[34] According to my figures.

[35] *"Elena y María,"* in *Revista de Filología Española,* 1914, pp. 52–96; *"Roncesvalles,"* in *Ibid.,* 1917, pp. 105–204; *"Algunos caracteres primordiales de la literatura española,"* in *Bulletin Hispanique,* 1918, pp. 208 ff. See also *La leyenda de los infantes de Lara,* Madrid, 1896.

[36] In these tables the Spanish and Italian method of counting syllables is used. The Anglo-Norman and Franco-Italian 4 + 6 lines, for instance, are counted as 5 + 7 lines, so that they can be the more readily compared with the Spanish and Venetian lines.

	Anglo-Norman *Boeve*		Franco-Italian *Buovo*	Venetian *Buovo*	*Poem of the Cid*
	B	D			
2 first hemistich				.00,30	
2 second hemistich ...					
3 first hemistich		.00,80	.02,50	.01,60	
3 second hemistich ...				.00,10	
4 first hemistich	.00,81	.07,20	.08,42	.10,50	.02,43
4 second hemistich ...		.01,20	.00,38	.00,20	.00,30
5 first hemistich	.16,30	.55,60	.35,92	.36,20	.13,17
5 second hemistich ...	.02,29	.14,00	.03,44	.08,30	.00,50
6 first hemistich	.36,41	.24,80	.26,54	.24,00	.26,95
6 second hemistich ...	.39,22	.43,20	.24,83	.27,90	.09,02
7 first hemistich	.38,04	.10,00	.19,74	.16,40	.33,14
7 second hemistich ...	.54,59	.38,40	.51,95	.42,30	.45,90
8 first hemistich	.05,98	.01,60	.04,85	.07,70	.16,82
8 second hemistich ...	.03,67	.02,80	.12,99	.14,20	.33,24
9 first hemistich	.02,43		.01,29	.02,50	.05,17
9 second hemistich ...	.00,23	.00,40	.05,35	.04,60	.07,40
10 first hemistich				.00,80	.01,82
10 second hemistich ...			.01,14	.01,80	.02,33
11 first hemistich			.00,32		.00,40
11 second hemistich ...				.00,40	.00,91
12 first hemistich					.00,10
12 second hemistich ...				.00,20	.00,10
13 first hemistich			.00,32		
13 second hemistich ...					.00,30

The following table gives the percentages of all the hemistichs, both first and second, combined:

	Anglo-Norman *Boeve*		Franco-Italian *Buovo*	Venetian *Buovo*	*Poem of the Cid*
	B	D			
2–3		.00,40	.01,30	.01,00	
4	.00,40	.04,20	.04,40	.05,35	.01,36
5	.09,30	.34,80	.19,67	.22,25	.06,84
6	.37,82	.34,00	.25,67	.25,95	.17,98
7	.46,32	.24,20	.35,84	.29,35	.39,52
8	.04,83	.02,20	.08,91	.10,95	.25,03
9	.01,33	.00,20	.03,32	.03,55	.06,29
10			.00,57	.01,30	.02,07
11–13			.00,32	.00,30	.00,91

VI

Even though the percentages vary more or less, there is no gainsaying the fact that in the extant versions of all these popular heroic poems which we have been studying there is great irregularity in the syllabic meter. I am in thorough agreement with Menéndez Pidal with regard to the *Poem of the Cid,* and with Pio Rajna with regard to the Franco-Italian and Venetian poems—and the same is true of the Anglo-Norman poems—that this irregularity is not entirely the fault of the copyists. The men who composed these poems were apparently quite satisfied with an approximate count of syllables. They used assonance, or occasionally consonantal rhyme, and they divided the lines into two hemistichs; but they did not feel the need of an exact count of syllables. One or two unstressed syllables more or less seem to have mattered little to the minstrel who was reciting the poem or to his listeners.

The men who composed the epic poems of northern France at that time did, for the most part, count syllables with exactness, but in this respect, at least, the Norman French, the Italians, and the Spaniards did not imitate

them.[37] Why did one group of men count syllables with exactness in their popular heroic poems, while at the same time other groups in neighboring Romance lands did not do so? This question has not yet been answered. The early adoption of the rule of counted syllables in France may have been due to the influence of medieval Latin accentual verses or to that of lyrical poems in the vernacular, or it may have been due to the development in the French people of a feeling for artistic symmetry; but these influences should also have been potent in Norman England, Italy, and Spain. It may be that the loss of a large proportion of the unstressed syllables in French and the adoption of a relatively uniform stress for the remaining syllables left so little rhythmic pulsation in the language that the French poets felt the need of counting syllables in order to distinguish verse from rhymed prose. If this be true, we must assume that Norman French either kept or developed a more marked distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables than that which prevailed on the Continent.

It is possible that it was necessary so to change the French poems in order to make them intelligible to Anglo-Norman and northern Italian listeners that the meter was thrown out of joint and minstrels were satisfied with an irregular syllabic meter provided their verses were understood; and it is possible that these ragged meters set the fashion in Spain and Italy. But this has not been proved, and it should not be accepted without proof. Or, again, it is possible that the Latin hexameter, which was probably read or sung without regard to quantitative meter during the Middle Ages, may have seemed to justify the irregular syl-

[37] It should be noted here that the subject-matter of the *Poem of the Cid* is distinctively Spanish, while that of the Italian poems we have studied is scarcely Italian at all.

labic meter of the popular heroic poems in the Romance languages; but, if this were true in Italy and Spain, why was it not also true in France?

In any case, whatever may be the solution of these problems, it seems evident that there were, at least between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries, popular heroic poems in Norman England, Italy, and Spain, which did not have a regular syllabic meter.

NOTES AND QUERIES ON THE METER OF THE *POEM OF THE CID*

In the *Rimado de Palacio,*[1] one is struck by the carelessness and ignorance of copyists. Fortunately, there are two manuscripts of the larger part of the *Rimado,* and when one scribe blunders, the other often does not, so that many corrupt passages in one text can be reconstructed with the aid of the other. Sometimes the copyist seems to embody in the verse line an interlineal or marginal gloss. Thus, in a strophe where the other lines have 7 + 7 syllables, we read (N, 195, c):

E de morir *martir* coronado[2] ovo postrimeria.

In E (196, c) the same line runs as follows:

De morir coronado ovo postremeria.

Evidently someone had added *martir* by way of explanation. If the one who copied this line in N had been a poet or even if he had had respect for the meter of verses, he certainly would not have taken such liberty with the text.

There are many lines where glosses seem to have been incorporated in the text. Two more are given:

Si vieres algunt *cuerpo* muerto, pobre, por aventura (N, 132).
Sy vieres algund muerto, pobre, por aventura (E, 133, a).
E dexe lo asi en carcel *morir e* podresçer (N, 138, c).
E dexe lo asi en la carçel podresçer (E, 139, c).

Sometimes the copyist cannot or does not take the trouble to read correctly the text he has before him. This may be

[1] *Poesías del Canciller Pero López de Ayala,* Albert F. Kuersteiner, 2 vols., in *Bibliotheca hispanica,* New York, 1920. When referring to the two texts I use N to indicate the manuscript in the National Library at Madrid, and E to indicate the one at the Escorial Library.

[2] I have undertaken to indicate the caesura by a double space between words. The italics used in this and the following lines are mine.

because the writing was not clear, or it may be due to the carelessness or ignorance of the copyist. Note the curious mistake that one of the scribes made in the second line of E given below:

Matador le diran, e non es nombre vano,
Ca mata e sotierra biuo a su hermano.
(N, 40, b, c)

Matador le diran, e non es nombre vano,
Ca meter so tierra biuo a vn su hermano.
(E, 40, b, c)

In strophe 58 of both texts the rhyme is *-iende*. The first line of E reads:

La muger del proximo el dezeno *defiende*.

The copyist of N, quite regardless of the rhyme, wrote:

La muger de mi prosimo el dezeno *defendiste*.

Speaking of the need of grace, N (13, b, c) says:

Ca sin ella el omne non puede bien fazer:
Otorga me, Señor, que yo la pueda aver.

The scribe who copied E wrote, perhaps absent-mindedly, a part of *otorga* in the line above:

E otorg el omne non puede bien fazer:
Otorga me, Señor, que la yo pueda aver.

In N, 97, we have a brief account of what happened to Saul as punishment for his envy of David:

Leemos que Saul por esto aborresçia
A Dauid, maguer que mucho menester lo avia;
Con grant enbidia pura sienpre lo perseguia:
Por ende despues ouo fuerte postrimeria.

The copyist of E made the third line read as follows:

Con grant ynbidia *Cayn* sienpre lo perseguia (98).

It seems most extraordinary that Cain should take part in the adventures of Saul and David, but the man who copied E apparently either took for granted that he did do so or else the scribe gave the matter no thought.

Strophe 154 of N reads as follows:

Si non viera Dauid a Bersabe bañar,
Non muriera Vrias, nin fuera el pecar;
Si non viera Amon a su hermana Tamar,
Nunca la cobdiçiara, nin la fuera forçar.

The copyist of E wrote the first, second, and fourth lines of this stanza just as they are in N, but seemingly he did not understand the third line, which he wrote:

Si non viera como a su hermano tomar (155).

Note also the following errors:

Ca so mucho *por el* a tierra abaxado (E, 93, b).
Ca *por el* mucho tienpo so *por el* muy abaxado (N, 92, b).

Escripto es que Esau por vn pobre manjar
La *primogenitura* a Jacob fuera dar.
(N, 104, a, b)

Escripto es que Esau por vn probe manjar
La *primera ynguntura* a Jacob fue dar.
(E, 105, b, c)

Veo vn rrey muy grande o vn *enperador,*
Que es de muy grant tierra prinçipe e *señor.*
(N, 495, a, b)

Veo vn rrey muy grande e vn *enperador,*
Que es de muy grant tierra prinçipe e *enperador.*
(E, 495, a, b)

These are only a few examples of the many similar errors that abound in the two manuscripts and they are irrefutable evidence that the copyists did not hesitate to disregard

meter, rhyme, logic, and even Bible history. One has reason to believe that the scribes often had their minds on other matters while they were engaged in copying mechanically the manuscripts that lay before them. And it can be taken for granted that the copyists of these two manuscripts were not poets.

After reading the texts of the *Rimado,* I opened the volume that contains Menéndez Pidal's paleographic edition of the *Poem of the Cid,*[3] and I began with much curiosity to read again the text, in search of copyists' errors. We have only one text of the *Cid* and consequently most attempts to reconstruct the text are more or less arbitrary, but I have noted many passages that seem to me to contain interlinear or marginal glosses which the copyist has embodied in the line, or other clerical errors, and I venture to quote here a few of them:

Refechos son todos esos christianos [con aquesta ganancia].[4]
A sos castiellos [a] los moros [dentro los] an tornado[s],
Mando mio Çid aun queles diessen algo.
Grant a el gozo myo Çid con todos sos vassalos (800–803).

Atod el primer colpe III CCC marcos [de plata] echauan[5]
Notolos don Martino, sin peso los tomaua;
Los otros CCC en oro gelos pagauan.
Çinco escuderos tiene [don Martino]; atodos los cargaua (184–187).

En San Pero a matines tandra el buen abbat,
La missa nos dira, [esta sera] de santa Trinidad (318–319)
A Dios uos acomiendo, [fijas, e a la mugier e] al padre spirital (372).

[3] *Cantar de Mío Cid, texto, gramática y vocabulario,* ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, 3 vols., Madrid, 1908–1911.

[4] The brackets are mine.

[5] The manuscript has *echaron.*

Mager los estan lamando, ninguno non Responde.
Quando los fallaron [e ellos vinieron, assi] vinieron sin color (2305–2306).

Oyo la poridad aquel Muño Gustioz,
Vino con estas nueuas a myo Çid [Ruy diaz] el Canpeador (2324–2325).

Not seldom two lines are written as one, or several lines are run together without law or order:

En su conpaña LX pendones;[6]—exien lo ver mugieres e uarones (16).

Vos con los CC yd uos en algara; — ala vaya Albarabarez,
E Albar Saluadorez sin falla, — e Galin Garçia, vna fardida Lança, — caualleros buenos que aconpañen a Minaya.
Aosadas corred, que por miedo non dexedes nada.
Fita ayuso e por Guadalfaiara, — fata Alcala legen las algaras (442–446).

This irregularity in the arrangement of lines is certainly the fault of some copyist, but whether it be the fault of the last copyist or not we do not know.

The copy of the *Poem* which we now possess has other changes that someone has made deliberately in order that the language should be less archaic. These changes are sometimes made at the cost of the rhyme, although the assonances seem usually to be preserved more scrupulously than any other part of the verses. Thus:

Recibiolo myo Çid commo apreçiaron enla cort.
Sobre los dozientos marcos que tenie el Rey Alfonsso
Pagaron los yfantes al que en buen ora nasco;
En prestan les delo ageno que non les cumple lo suyo.[7] (vv. 3245–3248)

[6] Here, as in the following passage, the dash is used to separate the verse-lines.

[7] Milá y Fontanals (*De la poesía heroico-popular*, p. 436) calls attention to this passage. Note the changes of Alfons to Alfonsso, *nació* to *nasco*, and *so*

It seems evident that some of the metrical irregularities of the *Cantar de Mio Cid* are due to errors of copyists, but is there reason to assume that all the metrical irregularities of the poem are due to this cause? Have we satisfactory evidence that the counting of syllables in a verse-line had become the rule in Spain as early as the twelfth century? In an article in the *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal* I have shown that there are long narrative poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, written in Franco-Italian, Venetian, and Norman-French, that are as irregular metrically as the *Cid*. Are the metrical irregularities of these poems also due entirely to the carelessness of copyists? This raises certain fundamental questions. Is the counting of syllables in verse inherent in the Romance languages, and has it always been so?

Syllabic meter did not exist in Latin verse, so far as we know. Erudite and artistic verse had quantitative meter and the number of syllables in the verse-lines was often irregular.

to *suyo*. *Nasco* is an older form than *nació*, but when the *Poem of the Cid* was written both *nasco* and *nació* seem to have been in use. The assonance requires sometimes one form and sometimes the other. In this line the original form was most probably *nació*, and some copyist changed it to *nasco*. In the *Cid*, *nasco* is used in assonance 11 times in the first part, 15 times in the second part, and only 5 times in the third part. It occurs usually (27 out of a total of 31) in 7-syllable hemistichs. *Nació* is used in assonance only once in the first part, twice in the second part, and 14 times in the third part. It occurs usually (13 out of a total of 17) in 8-syllable hemistichs. Twice in the first part and three times in the second part *nasco* is used where the assonance seems to require *nació*. If these changes are made in the text, *nasco* will occur a total of 26 times and *nació* a total of 22 times; but it will still be true that *nasco* is preferred in the first two parts of the text and *nació* in the third part.

In the *Poem* we find the archaic *priso* and *conuuo*, as well as *nasco*, but *creció*, *escriuió*, *metió*, and *remaneció* have replaced *crouo*, *escripso*, *miso*, and *remaso* (cf. Menéndez Pidal, *op cit.*, pp. 276–277). In assonance *metió* occurs six times, but only in the third part.

The older *cuer* (*cuor*) does not occur at all in assonance; *coraçon* occurs in assonance twice in the first part, 12 times in the second part, and 33 times in the third part. Out of a total of 47 times it occurs 28 times in hemistichs of 8 or more syllables. Several of these lines would be improved in rhythm and meter by substituting *cuor* for *coraçon*, as in v. 2521.

Early popular Latin verse, if we may judge from the relatively few specimens that have been preserved, seems to have been accentual, as it is still in English and German. Thus:

Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem:
Ecce, Caesar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias:
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Caesarem.[8]

Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille decollavimus.
Unus homo mille; mille, mille decollavimus.
Mille, mille, mille vivant, qui mille, mille occiderunt!
Tantum vini habet nemo quantum fudit sanguinis.[9]

Throughout the Middle Ages accentual Latin verses continued to be written. The following song is attributed to the soldiers of Louis II who were in Italy during the ninth century:

... Celus magnum preparavit in istam provintiam,
regnum nostrum nobis tollit, nos habet pro nihilum,
plures mala nobis fecit, rectum est ut moriad.
Deposuerunt sancto-pio de suo palatio;
Adalferio illum ducebat usque ad pretorium;
ille vero gaude visum tanquam ad martirium... .[10]

A twelfth-century poem on the wretchedness of human life is written in accentual meter:

Heu! heu! mundi Vita,
quare me delectas ita?
Cum non possis mecum stare,
quid me cogis te amare?
Heu! Vita fugitiva,
omni fera plus no[s]civa,

[8] Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines, antérieures au douzième siècle*, Paris, 1843, p. 106.

[9] A song of the soldiers of the Emperor Hadrian. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 264 f.

cum tenere te non queam,
cur seducis mentem meam?[11]

The following are more popular:

Mihi est propositum in taberna mori,
vinum sit appositum morientis ori,
ut dicant, cum venerint, angelorum chori:
Deus sit propitius huic potatori!...[12]

One of the most beautiful hymns of the Middle Ages has accentual meter with binary movement:[13]

Stabat Mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lachrymosa
Dum pendebat filius.

The following hymn has especial interest as it is taken from the Spanish mozarabic hymnal:

Ave, Regina coelorum,
Ave, Domina angelorum;
Salve, radix; salve porta,
Ex qua mundo lux est orta:
Gaude, Virgo gloriosa,
Super omnes speciosa...[14]

In all the verses given above there is accentual meter, that is to say, there is a fixed number of accents in a line,[15] and

[11] Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge,* Paris, 1847, p. 108. See also pp. 177 f.

[12] *Ibid.,* pp. 205–206.

[13] By "binary movement" is meant the rhythm of verses in which there is regularly one unstressed syllable between the prosodic accents, as in ⏑́ — ⏑́ —, etc., or — ⏑́ — ⏑́, etc. Most of the Latin verses that have been given have binary movement.

[14] Amador de los Rios, *Historia crítica de la literatura española,* Madrid, 1862, II, p. 466.

[15] This does not mean that all the lines in a given poem must have the same number of accents. In a strophe one line may have four accents, another may have three, etc., but there should be a definite scheme to which the poet adheres.

the accented syllables are regularly separated by unstressed syllables. There is also a fixed number of syllables in a line, but this fact is incidental and not fundamental. In verses with regular binary movement, if there is a fixed number of accents, there must of necessity be a fixed number of syllables. Syllabic meter is quite different, for in this meter there is a fixed number of syllables without a regular succession of stressed and unstressed syllables and consequently without a fixed number of accents in a line, as in these lines from an old Spanish ballad:

¡Abenámar, Abenámar,
moro de la morería,
el día que tú naciste
grandes señales había!
Estaba la mar en calma,
la luna estaba crecida:
moro que en tal signo nace,
no debe decir mentira.

It is my opinion that in early Latin verses and in those of the Middle Ages a fixed number of syllables is generally found only where there is a fixed number of accents. But throughout the Middle Ages Latin verses were also written in imitation of certain classical meters, such as the hexameter, that do not have "counted syllables." Such medieval Latin verses will be treated separately in a later article.

Most of the Latin songs in accentual meter were sung in chorus, and it is difficult to sing a song in chorus, with set music, if the syllables are not counted. Even in most English church hymns there is a definite number of syllables in the line, as can easily be verified by examining any church hymn book, and yet syllabism has never gotten a firm foothold in English verse, either narrative or lyrical.

If medieval Latin verses, as a rule, have a fixed number

of syllables only in certain accentual meters, why then have the Romance languages developed and generally adopted as their most common meter one in which syllables alone are counted, that is to say, a purely syllabic meter?[16] There has been endless discussion of this problem. Whatever the answer may be, it seems a fact that syllabic meter in narrative verse became the norm first in France and Provence. A cursory examination of any chrestomathy of old French or old Provençal verses will show that by the eleventh century the counting of syllables was already the rule.[17]

The *Cid* is certainly not a song that was sung in chorus to set music. It seems not to have accentual meter with a regular recurrence of stressed and unstressed syllables. It is a long narrative poem that was recited or chanted by a single person.[18] In the one extant manuscript of the *Cid* the

[16] Syllabic meter is also accentual to a certain degree. In Spanish octosyllabic verses, for instance, a rhythmic accent recurs regularly on the seventh syllable of every line, but within the line the stresses are usually merely logical or rhetorical and do not recur at fixed intervals. The position of these inner stresses is limited only by certain laws of euphony. Strictly accentual verses are quite different, for in such verses all stresses have a regular position and there is a regular succession of stressed and unstressed syllables.

[17] The *Passion du Christ* (8-syllable verses, according to the French count) and the *Vie de Saint Alexis* (4 + 6-syllable verses), both probably of the tenth century, have syllabic meter that deviates from the norm only occasionally and then by only one syllable more or less. But when examining these verses in the chrestomathies one must be on his guard, for as a rule the verses have been standardized in the critical editions, even when all the extant manuscripts record variations. This fact is made clear by comparing the text of the *Vie de Saint Alexis* in the *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français,* L. Constans, Paris, Leipzig, 3me éd., 1906, with that in the *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch,* Foerster und Koschwitz, Leipzig, 6te Aufl., 1921.

[18] It has been suggested that some Old Spanish narrative poems, including the *Cid,* may have a complicated accentual meter similar to that which has been assumed for the old Teutonic alliterative verse in narrative poems. Sievers (Paul's *Grundriss,* II, 2, 2d ed., p. 4), speaking of alliterative verse in Old English, says: ". . . . a statistical classification of groups of words with their natural accentuation in both sections of the alliterative line makes it clear that this meter, in spite of its variety, is not so irregular as to the unaccented syllables at the beginning or in the middle of the verse as has been commonly

verses do not have counted syllables. The statement is made that the poem must have had a regular syllabic meter, since in other respects it is too artistic to have been written by anyone who did not know how to count syllables. But why must we assume that there was an exact count of syllables in the early Spanish narrative poems? There was no counting of syllables in the Greek *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* nor in the Latin *Aeneid,* nor in many medieval Latin narrative poems. Syllables are not counted in English or German popular narrative verse.

When we come to a consideration of Spanish verse, we do not find a single extant version of any old Spanish popular narrative poem that has a regular count of syllables. There is certainly no regular syllabic meter in the extant versions of the *Cid,* the *Roncesvalles,* the *Rodrigo,* or the *Infantes de Lara.*

thought, but that it has a range of a limited number of definite forms which may be all reduced to five primary types. . . . . The fundamental principle, therefore, of the structure of the alliterative line, as we find it in historical times, is that of a free change of rhythm which can only be understood if the verse was meant to be recited, not to be sung." Schipper (*History of English Versification,* Oxford, 1910, p. 24) states: "The structure of the alliterative line obeys only the requirements of free recitation and is built up of two hemistichs which have a rhythmical likeness to one another resulting from the presence in each of two accented syllables, but which need not have, and as a matter of fact, very rarely have, complete identity of rhythm because the number and situation of the unaccented syllables may vary greatly in the two sections."

Julius, Delius, and others suggested this possibility (cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Cid,* p. 77), and Ernest Gamillscheg (*"Zur Kritik des Cantar de Mio Cid," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* XLI, 57) comes to the support of an accentual meter in the *Cid* with three accents in each hemistich. Thus he gives v. 20 as follows:

[e] a aquél que géla diésse sopiésse véra palábra

It is doubtful that the *Cid* has a complicated accentual meter such as Sievers suggests for Old English narrative poems, but it would be an interesting experiment if someone who has studied thoroughly the old Teutonic meters in narrative verses would make a more careful study of the position of the syllabic stresses within the hemistichs of the verses of the *Cid,* and attempt to find a system for their recurrence. I suspect that the work would not give any positive result, but it might at least settle the question once for all.

The older Spanish poets and grammarians who discuss meters are in full agreement that popular narrative verses did not have a fixed number of syllables. Thus, the author of the *Libro de Alixandre* says in the second strophe:

> "Menester traygo fermoso, non es de jangleria,
> menester es syn pecado, que es de cleresçia
> fablar curso Rimado por la quaderneria,
> a sylabas contadas, que es muy grant maestria"[19]

Everyone knows the famous words of Santillana that are found in his *Proemio e carta* which he sent to the Condestable de Portugal:

"Infimos son aquellos (poetas) que sin ningún orden, regla nin cuento façen estos romanças é cantares, de que las gentes de baxa é servil condicion se alegran."[20]

In the *Arte de poesía castellana* of Juan del Enzina the following statement is made:

O á quantos vemos en nuestra España estar en reputacion de trobadores. que no se les da mas por echar una silaba y dos demasiadas que de menos: ni se curan que sea buen consonante que malo. y pues se ponen a hazer en metro: deuen mirar y saber que metro no quiere dezir otra cosa sino mesura: de manera que lo que no lleua cierta mensura y medida: no deuemos dezir que va en metro ni el que lo haze deue gozar de nombre de poeta ni trobador.[21]

And even Nebrija[22] refers to verses that are badly measured:

Cuando en el verso redunda y sobra una sílaba: llamase hipermetro: quiere dezir que allende lo justo del metro sobra alguna cosa. Cuando falta algo llamase catalectico: quiere dezir: que por quedar

[19] *El libro de Alixandre*, ed. Morel-Fatio, Dresden, 1906, p. 1.

[20] Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Madrid, 1911, V, p. 22.

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

[22] Antonio de Lebrixa, *Gramatica castellana, réproduction phototype de l'édition princeps (1492)*, E. Walberg, Halle, Niemeyer, 1909, II, 10.

alguna cosa es escasso. Y enestas dos maneras los versos llamanse cacometros: quiere dezir mal medidos.[23]

[23] Metrical irregularity is not confined to popular heroic verse, but is also found in ecclesiastical didactic poems although to a lesser degree. In 1914 Menéndez Pidal published in the *Revista de Filología Española* (pp. 52–96) the text of a thirteenth-century Leonese version of the theme of the *Jugement d'amour*, together with a scholarly introduction. In this poem also there is much metrical irregularity. Of the total of 402 lines, as arranged by Menéndez Pidal, I counted the syllables of 182 in which neither synalepha nor hiatus was possible between words and which presented no other difficulty, with the following result:

(5) 5, (6) 22, (7) 56, (8) 45, (9) 28, (10) 12, (11) 7, (12) 2,
(13) 1, (14) 1, (15) 3

The percentages I reached differ somewhat from those reached by Menéndez Pidal, but the discrepancy may well be due to a different choice of lines. The following table will show the difference in percentages:

	6	7	8	9
Menéndez Pidal	.12,62	.27,18	.29,12	.14,07
Hills	.12,02	.30,60	.24,59	.15,30

I am of the opinion, however, that the number of short lines, especially of 4 and 5 syllables, should be much larger than I have given above. In the manuscript the lines are run together like prose and it is sometimes difficult to decide where they should be divided. In some of the longer lines there is a curious inner rhyme or assonance that leads me to believe that such lines should be divided into two, as in:

Ca el mio *amigo* bien te lo *digo*,
a mucho *trigo* a muncho vino (171–172)

En la *mañana* por la *ylada*
vieste su *capa* *en cerrada* (179–180)

sin *pecado* y sin *engano;*
e quando *quier* comer y *beuer* (186–187)

Rhymed or assonated couplets are the rule in this poem, but these last two lines have none other than inner rhyme or assonance as they are here arranged. All these lines have been counted, if counted at all, as long lines, and consequently if they were divided the proportion of short lines would be increased. There are some other lines like these, and there are many lines in which the rhythm and the meter, but not the rhyme, suggest a division, as in

Maria rrespuso tan yrada,
esa vegada:
"Elena, calla,
por que dizes tal palabra?

In any case there can be no question that the verses are metrically irregular, and on page 96 Menéndez Pidal calls our attention to this fact: "Notemos, en fin, que tanto la versificación de *Elena* como la de *María Egipciaca* nos prueban que los juglares españoles, aun cuando imitaban la versificación francesa de metro constante, usaban el verso irregular."

Why, then, in the face of all this evidence, should anyone assume that the *Cid,* for instance, had originally a definite and regular count of syllables which has been lost through the carelessness of one or more copyists? Why should it even be taken for granted that the counting of syllables is and always has been inherent in Spanish verse?[24]

Let us return to the question whether or no the *Cid* has syllabic meter. If by syllabic meter we mean an exact count of syllables, the extant version certainly does not have it. But if we accept as the syllabic meter of some old Spanish narrative verses an approximate number of syllables in a verse-line, that is to say, if we grant that one or possibly even two unstressed syllables more or less in a hemistich did not really matter, then the *Cid* may have syllabic meter after all.[25]

If we were to assume that the *Cid* has, for instance, a basic meter of 7 + 7 syllables, and that one unstressed syllable, more or less, before the rhythmic accent of the hemistich does not matter, then we could accept any of the following lines as being sufficiently metrical to fit into the scheme:

7 + 7: Los moros yazen muertos de biuos pocos veo (618).
7 + 6: Por todas essas tierras yuan los mandados (564).
7 + 8: E prendan bendiçiones e vayamos Recabdando (2226).
6 + 7: Moros le Reçiben por la seña ganar (712).
6 + 6: Quel creçe conpaña por que mas valdrá (296).
6 + 8: Lora delos oios tan fuerte mientre Sospira (277).
8 + 7: Comed, conde, deste pan e beued deste vino (1025).

[24] We must not lose sight of the very considerable body of early and modern Spanish verses that do not have counted syllables, such as those written in *arte mayor,* the accentual songs that accompany children's games, and contemporary free verse.

[25] We have seen that as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century Juan del Enzina said: "O á cuántos vemos ... que no se les da mas por echar una silaba y dos demasiadas que de menos!"

8 + 6: Mas de quinze de los sos menos non fallaron (798).
8 + 8: Con las çinchas corredizas maianlas tan sin sabor (2736).

According to the count of Menéndez Pidal[26] .394 of the hemistichs of the *Cid* have 7 syllables, .24 have 8 syllables, and .18 have 6 syllables. This gives a total of .814 of the hemistichs in the poem that do not vary from a norm of seven syllables by more than one syllable. If we add hemistichs that vary from such norm by two syllables more or less, we must add those of 5 syllables (.0682) and those of 9 syllables (.0628). This would bring the hemistichs that do not vary more than one or two syllables from a norm of 7 + 7 to .945 of the total number. And this would leave only .055 of the metrical irregularities that could be attributed to the carelessness, the faulty reading, the supposed corrections or the explanatory additions of copyists. In fact, I suspect that the copyists cannot really be held accountable for the metrical irregularities of more than about five per cent of the hemistichs.

[26] *Cid*, pp. 99 f.

THE UNITY OF THE *POEM OF THE CID*

There are certain discrepancies between the first or historical part of the *Poem of the Cid* and the second or non-historical part. The first half, roughly speaking, is sober in style, with little or no exaggeration. The second half is fantastic in parts, with an occasional joke, and is in general less direct and more diffuse than the first half.

The most striking difference between the two parts of the *Poem* is found in the fact that the first part is largely historical while the second part is mostly fictitious. This distinction is acknowledged by all critics, I believe, and I shall not enter into details.

The difference in assonance between the two halves has often been mentioned. In the first 1,820 lines, *á, á–a,* and *á–o* assonances predominate, and *–ó* is used sparingly. In the second half the *–ó* assonance is used in approximately two-thirds of the lines.

Whether the average length of the first 1,820 lines is greater or less than that of the remaining lines, I cannot say; but a comparison of the first 150 lines with the last 150 lines of the *Poem* gives the average number of syllables as follows:

First 150 verses; first hemistich, 6.2; second hemistich, 7.3
Last 150 verses; first hemistich, 7.1; second hemistich, 7.4

In counting syllables, synalepha was used as in modern Spanish.

There seems to be at times a striking relationship between the length of the lines and their content. Thus, in verses 1604–1617 we have the lyrical passage in which the poet describes the ascent of the Cid's wife and daughters to the top of the palace, where they gaze upon the beautiful city of Valencia lying at their feet. In this passage, omitting verses

1604–1605, which have evidently been copied inaccurately, the average number of syllables is as follows:

First hemistich, 5.3; second hemistich, 7

This is almost identically the meter of the French *décasyllabe*. Other similar passages are found in the poem.[1]

There are other differences to which I wish to call attention. As a basis of comparison I have considered verses 1–1820 as the first half (or the first part), and verses 1821–3730 as the second half. Perhaps it would have been better to study verses 1–1094, or verses 1–1250, separately, but in this preliminary examination it has seemed best to divide the *Poem* into two parts of approximately the same length.

In the first half, the terms "Mio Cid don Rodrigo," "Mio Cid Roy Diaz," and "Mio Cid el de Bivar" are used about four times as often as in the second half. In the second half, the favorite terms are "Campeador" or "Cid Campeador," and they are here used twice as often as in the first part. The two sets of appellations are approximately equal in number in the first half, but in the second half "Campeador" and "Cid Campeador" are used about eight times as often as the other terms. This may be in part due to the prevailing *–ó* assonance of the second part, or the assonance may be in part due to the use of "Campeador."

Similarly, it is curious that King Alfonso is called "don Alfonso" about 30 times in the second part and only once (v. 22) in the first part. And King Alfonso is spoken of as *el castellano* or *el rey de Castilla* two or three times in each

[1] There seems even to be sometimes a relationship between the assonance and the number of syllables in the first hemistichs. Thus, there is a highly dramatic passage (vv. 3250–3472) in which relatively short first hemistichs predominate. This passage has a variety of assonances, of which 40 per cent are not in *-ó*. In the preceding 633 verses and in the following 258 verses (to the end of the *Poem*) only about 15 per cent are not in *-ó*.

half of the *Poem,* but in the second half he is frequently called "Alfonso el de León." This appellation is not used at all in the first half.

The words *virtos* and *amidos* occur each 3 times in the first half and not at all in the second half. On the other hand, *ensayar* occurs 9 times in the *Poem,* and it is found only in the third *cantar.* These are only a few examples of a fairly long list of words some of which are found only in the first half, while others are found only in the second. This situation may be due in part to the subject-matter that is being treated where these words happen to be found.

It is well known that in the *Poem of the Cid* the *–ra* verb forms still had, as a rule, the force of the pluperfect indicative. This is quite true of most of the *Poem,* but in the last one thousand lines approximately there are only three clear examples of *–ra* indicative (two in v. 3325 and one in v. 3630), and there are three clear examples of *–ra* used in a conditional clause with subjunctive force (vv. 2774, 3319, 3597) and a fourth (v. 3277) that is perhaps so used. Thus it is that, while in two-thirds of the *Poem* the *–ra* forms have only indicative force, in the last one thousand lines or so there are at least as many *–ra* forms with subjunctive as there are with indicative force.

In the first half of the *Poem, respuso* occurs 5 times and *respondió* does not appear. In the second half *respuso* is used 5 times and *respondió* (or *respondieron,* or *respondier*) 5 times. None of these forms is found in assonance.

In the first half *conpeçar de* occurs 7 times, and *conpeçar a* is not used. In the second half *conpeçar a* occurs 3 times and *conpeçar de* is found only once.

There is a striking difference between the two halves of the *Poem* in the use of *exir* and *salir* with the same meaning. Thus, in the first half, *exir* occurs 28 times and *salir* 17

times. In the second half *salir* is used 46 times, while *exir* is not used at all. In the first half the rising of the sun is expressed only by *exir el sol* (2 times) and in the second half only by *salir el sol* (6 times).

In the *Poem, non* is the usual form, but *no* is used by exception twice in the first half and 15 times in the second half, exclusive of *no nos* for *non nos, nos(e)* for *non se* and *no l(o),* etc., for *non lo,* etc.

In *no(n) nos, no(n) se,* and *no(n) lo, no(n) la,* etc., *non* occurs 52 times in the first part and 21 times in the second part, while *no* is used 27 times in the first part and 41 times in the second part. It is in these constructions that we probably have examples of the first appearance of *no* for *non* in Spanish, and it is interesting that in them the proportion of *no* forms to *non* forms is about four times as great in the second part as in the first part of the *Poem.*

It is well known that *al primer gallo* means "at midnight." In the *Poem of the Cid* the first crowing of the cocks is not mentioned, but the second crowing, *los mediados gallos,* is mentioned in verses 324 and 1701 and refers to the time halfway between midnight and dawn. In verses 169, 209, 235, and 316, the crowing of the cocks in general marks the coming of the dawn, as in verse 235, *apriessa cantan los gallos e quieren quebrar albores,* and in verse 316, *a la mañana quando los gallos cantaran.* In the first half of the *Poem* (up to v. 1701) time is indicated by the crowing of the cocks six times. In the second half there is no reference to the crowing of cocks.

In Old Spanish the regular forms of the possessive adjective are *so(s)* masculine, and *su(s)* feminine. In the *Poem of the Cid,* masculine *so(s)* is used with feminine nouns in verses 1791 and 2171. The feminine form *su* is used much oftener with masculine nouns. Of this confusion in the use

of *so(s)* and *su(s)* with masculine nouns, Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, I, 257) says:

> ... estas confusiones son muy antiguas, pues en el siglo xi hallamos "so cosa" *Gl Sil* 31, pero los manuscritos más correctos del siglo xiii todavía distinguen con regularidad *so* masculino de *su* femenino, por ejemplo, *la Biblia Escurialense* I-j-6, y debemos achacar su confusión en *El Cid* a los copistas más bien que al autor.

But an examination of the text of the *Poem of the Cid* made by Miss May D. Barry, of San Francisco, shows that the number of *so(s)* used with masculine nouns is approximately the same in the two halves of the *Poem* (first half, 35; second half, 36), while *su(s)* is used with masculine nouns approximately three times as often in the second half as in the first half (first half, 10; second half, 29). The contrast is still more striking when the first *cantar* (vv. 1–1084) is compared with the third (vv. 2278–3730). In the first *cantar, so(s)* is used with masculine nouns 22 times, while *su(s)* is so used only 4 times. In the third *cantar, so(s)* is used with masculine nouns 25 times, while *su(s)* is so used 21 times. If this confusion is due to the copyist, why should he use *su(s)* with masculine nouns nearly five times oftener in the third *cantar* of the *Poem* than he did in the first *cantar?*

The place where the *Poem of the Cid* was written has been discussed at some length. If Bédier's theory with regard to the origin of the Old French epics should hold true in Spain also, the *Poem of the Cid* was written in a monastery, and probably in the Benedictine monastery of San Pero de Cardeña, which is mentioned frequently in the first half of the *Poem*. But Menéndez Pidal, in his three-volume critical edition of the *Poem*, which appeared before the *Légendes Épiques*, expresses his conviction that the poet was not especially interested in San Pero de Cardeña. He says:

El *Cantar de Mio Cid* tiene, pues, un carácter marcadamente local ... representa la tradición particular conservada en una pequeña comarca, en San Esteban de Gormaz, a la cual pertenece el episodio trágico del robredo de Corpes; y en Medinaceli, donde se guardaría recuerdo de Abengalbón, donde se referirían los episodios fronterizos de Castejón y Alcocer. ... Sea como quiera, el Cantar se escribió en la actual provincia de Soria, en el extremo Sureste de lo que hoy se llama Castilla la Vieja (I, 72, 73).

This opinion is based on the poet's evident acquaintance with the country around Medina (Medinaceli) as shown in verses 1534 and following, and around San Esteban de Gormaz near which the poet places the tragic episode of the *"afrenta de Corpes."* It is clear that Menéndez Pidal's theory of *localización* assumes the unity of the *Poem;* that is to say, that it was written by one and the same man. If it is at all likely that the latter half of the *Poem,* roughly speaking, was written by a second poet, the *localización* of the *Poem* would have to be studied anew.[2] In fact, to the best of my knowledge, there has been no attempt to apply Bédier's theory to the epics of Spain. It is to this theory that Menéndez Pidal seems to refer when he says in *Poesía juglaresca y juglares,* Madrid, 1924 (p. 322):

Reiteradas veces he intentado pensar dentro de la corriente actual que propende a modernizar la fecha de los poemas épicos, pero siempre he tropezado con tales dificultades que me he convencido de que tal corriente es, en multitud de casos, una moda que no me interesa seguir.

Some text or texts of the *Poem of the Cid* were used as historical sources by the compilers of the *Primera Crónica*

[2] The poet's acquaintance with the country around Medina is shown in verses 1534 and following. In this connection it is interesting to note that, in the first 1,500 verses of the *Poem,* the monastery of San Pedro (Pero) de Cardeña is referred to eleven times, and twice the poet invokes Saint Peter (v. 240: *rogando a san Pero;* v. 363: *ruego a san Peydro*). And curiously, the words *christiandad* and *christianismo* are found only in the first 1,500 verses.

General (about 1289). Menéndez Pidal (*Cid,* I, pp. 126–127) states:

> ... la *Crónica* coincide en todo con el antiguo Cantar hasta el verso 1094, salvo muy ligeras variantes; los versos que siguen hasta el 1220 faltan en la *Crónica,* pues se les sustituye por una narración de origen árabe; en fin, hasta el verso 1251 no empieza la divergencia bien perceptible de ambos textos. La primera señal que la *Crónica* da de este alejamiento, es el asociar el nombre de Pero Bermúdez al de Minaya en el pasaje que corresponde a dicho verso 1251. ... Estos dos mandaderos del Cid no hallan al rey en Carrión, como dice el Cantar, sino en Palencia, donde no aparecen los infantes de Carrión y sus parientes, como aseguran los versos 1345 y 1372. ... Las divergencias de ambos textos, que aquí no son muy considerables, van cada vez en aumento, y son ya continuas a partir del episodio del león.

These facts seem to indicate that the text which the compilers of the *Primera Crónica General* had before them agreed essentially with the extant manuscript of the *Poem* in verses 1–1094, 1221–1251, and to a lesser degree in the verses immediately following. On the other hand, the accounts of the wedding of the Cid's daughters and of their subsequent dishonor—that is to say, the non-historical part—differ so greatly in the *Crónica* and in the extant manuscript that it seems perfectly evident that the compilers of the *Crónica* used for the second half of the story one or more manuscripts that differed radically from the one of which we now possess a copy. There may have been at that time two manuscripts of the entire *Poem* that agreed in their beginnings but were quite different in their endings,[3] or there may have been one manuscript that gave the first part and two distinct manuscripts that gave versions of the marriage and the affront.

According to Menéndez Pidal, the later manuscript of the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* (of the fourteenth century)—

[3] As we know to be true in the case of the *Rimado de palacio.*

which I have not had an opportunity to examine—follows our extant manuscript closely, which makes clear that the compilers of this *Crónica* had before them a copy of the version from which our extant manuscript derives. The first part of the story seems, therefore, to be essentially the same in the two chronicles, but the rest of the *Poem* differs strikingly. It seems, at any rate, almost self-evident that the two versions of the second part of the *Poem* could not have been written in their entirety by one and the same author.

These comments prove nothing, but they do indicate, I believe, that unity of authorship has not been proved. Menéndez Pidal (*Poesía juglaresca y juglares,* pp. 315 ff.) has called attention to the fact that the *Crónica silense* (*ca.* 1115) and the *Crónica najarense* (*ca.* 1160) contain Latin versions of a half-dozen Spanish epic narratives, and that these Latin versions were probably taken from Castilian short epic poems, each of 500 or 600 verses. If this be true, it is quite possible that there was first a short *Poem of the Cid,* narrating the exile of the hero and his capture of Valencia—an epic of the national war of reconquest. A poet may have taken this original epic and added to it the legend of the marriage of the Cid's daughters to the Counts of Carrion and the subsequent affront and duels. I do not dare to suggest that it may have been Per Abat who did this. But, in any case, I have come to doubt that all of our version of the *Poem of the Cid* was written by one and the same person.

SPANISH PATRONYMICS IN *-Z*

In Spain during the Middle Ages it was customary for a son to use his father's name as a patronymic, both in Latin and in Spanish documents. Thus, Rodrigo the son of Pedro would sign his name Rodericus Petri in Latin, or Rodrigo Pedrez in Spanish. In *Cid*,[1] opposite page 558, the following family tree is given: Diego Muñoz, Fernando Díaz, Diego Fernández, Asur Díaz, Gonzalo Ansúrez, Asur González, Gonzalo Ansúrez. It is noteworthy that the patronymic usually changed with each generation, since the son took as patronymic a derivative of his father's given name.[2]

It is well known that this custom is ancient in the Roman

[1] The bibliographical abbreviations used in this article refer to the following works:

Carte basso-latine = *Carte basso-latine della Spagna e del Portogallo raccolte da E. Monaci*, Rome, 1911.

Cid = *Cantar de Mio Cid*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, 3 vols., Madrid, 1908–1911.

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum.*

Dict. Ant. = *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, IV, Paris.

Doc. ling. = *Documentos lingüísticos de España, I, Reino de Castilla*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1919.

EE = *Ephemeris epigraphica*, VIII, Berlin, 1899.

Esp. sagr. = Flórez, *España sagrada.*

Groeber = *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, I (2d ed.), Strassburg, 1904–1906.

Muñoz = J. Muñoz y Rivero, *Paleografía visigoda ... los códices y documentos españoles de los siglos V al XII*, Madrid, 1919.

Prim. crón. gen. = *Primera crónica general de España*, I, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906.

Valpuesta = *Chartes de l'église de Valpuesta du IXe au Xe siècle*, ed. L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Revue Hispanique*, VII (1900), pp. 273 f.

Villada = Zacarías García Villada, *Paleografía española*, I *texto*, II *álbum*, Madrid, 1923.

[2] The following family tree of the Cid is found in *Prim. crón. gen.* (p. 387):

"Del linage deste Layn Caluo uinieron muchos buenos omnes onrrados de Castiella, et ouo dos fijos: all uno dixieron Fernant Layn, et all otro Vermudo Layn. Et este Fernant Layn ouo un fijo que dixieron Layn Fernandez. Et este Layn Fernandez ouo un fijo a que llamaron Nunno Layn. Et este Nunno Layn caso con una duenna a que dizien donna Elo, et ouo en ella un fijo a que dixieron Layn Nunnez. Aquel Layn Nunnez fizo un fijo a que llamaron Diago Layn. Este Diago Layn caso con fija de Rodrig Aluarez de Asturias,

world. Early Latin inscriptions give evidence that: *Il y avait chez les Romans un seul nom individuel et pour spécifier on se servait du nom du père ou du chef de maison au génitif": Marcus Marci, Caecilia Crassi* (*Dict. Ant.,* IV, p. 92); [T]oncius [T]oncetami f[ilius], Ardunnus Comini f[ilius] (*EE,* VIII, p. 360, Portugal); Lolia Porci f[ilia] (*CIL,* II, 4386, Tarragona, Spain).

Later it was customary to use a *praenomen,* or given name, as well as the *nomen* followed by the father's name in the genitive and the word *filius* or *filia*: M[arcus] Fisius M[arci] f[ilius], C[aius] Titius C[ai] f[ilius] (*CIL,* I, 678, Capua, 106 B.C.)

Still later more and more names were added by members of aristocratic families: Quinto Hedio L[ucii] f[ilio] Pol[lia] Rufo Lolliano Gentiano (*CIL,* II, 4121, Tarragona, Spain, third century A.D.).

The early Christian names were simpler. In some of the oldest medieval Latin documents of Spain such names as the following appear (omitting the names of ecclesiastical dignitaries): Teodenandus, Nepozanus, Adefonsus (Villada, XLVI, year 775); Ranemirus, Frolla, Guttiher, Hordonius, Adefonsus (*ibid.,* XLVII, 860); Albura, Olemundus, Leouegjldus, Armentarius (*ibid.,* XLVIII, 874). It is to be noted that among these names none is found in the genitive, nor is there any that has the two or more names that were customary during the time of the Roman Empire. But in many early medieval documents *filius* or *prolis* appears between the

que era omne onrrado et poderoso, et ouo en ella a Roy Diaz, el que dixieron el Cid Campeador; et de la razon deste Roy Diaz contaremos adelant en esta estoria. Ell otro fijo de Layn Caluo a que dizien Vermudo Layn fue padre de Roy Uermudez. Este Roy Uermudez fue padre de Fernan Rodriguez. Et este Fernand Rodriguez fue padre de Pedro Fernandez, mas non del que dixieron el Castellano."

Note that Layn, like Gomez in other documents, may serve both as a given name and as a patronymic.

son's name and that of the father, the latter being usually in the genitive case, although in some examples the Spanish form of the name is used. Thus: Yohannes filius Zebodei (Villada, XXI, 839); Frovla rex, filius Adephonsi regis (*Carte basso-latine,* VI, 912); Fredenandus prolis Gundesalbi (*Valpuesta,* XXIV, 950); Eldesendo filius Dontio, Adefonsus filius Burgala, Stefano filius Calzato (Muñoz, XXI, 945);[3] Fortis filius domini Frollani, Abolfetta Iben December, Sisebutus Moratelli, Abuleiman Fredenandi, Sisnandus diaconus filius Ljrjh (*ibid.,* LI, 925); Zulajman filius Teudrici (Villada, LII, 954).

In later documents the Latin genitive of the patronymic is frequently used without *filius* or *prolis;* Fredo (= Fredenando) Ansurei (Villada, L, 920); ... inter Petrum Poncii ..., Petro Berengarii (*ibid.,* LXXXI, 1139); Mer Lupi (*Valpuesta,* LII, 1039); Gomiz Didatii (*Cartul. de Liébana,* fol. 32–33, cited in *Cid,* p. 540, year 1059); Petrus Assurrii (*Cid,* p. 552); Martin Dominjci (*Doc. ling.,* XIII, 1174); Gundisaluus Petri, Sancius Sancii, Gundisaluus Dominici (*ibid.,* V, 1220); Luppus Didaci, Gundisaluus Gundisaluj (*ibid.,* XLVIII, 1225); Roderico Gonsalui (*ibid.,* CLVII, 1206); Petrus Pelagii (*ibid.,* CLXX, 1222); Lupus Didaci, Gundisaluus Roderici (*ibid.,* LIII, 1231); Didacus Ferdinandi bachalaureus jn legibus (*ibid.,* CCXLIV, 1407).

Not infrequently in one and the same document some patronymics have the Latin genitive while other patronymics end in *-z* or *-zi*: Adelgaster filius Silonis regis, ego iamdictus Adelgaster Siliz (*Carte basso-latine,* I, 780); Fredo (= Fredenando) Ansurei, Osorio Gutierriz, Gutjer Menendiz (Villada, L, 920); Ranimirus rex filius Adephonsi, Enegus Acenari, Vigila Garceani, Gomiz Didaci, Gudesteus Menendiz,

[3] In this document from the Monasterio de Exlonza, Dontio, Burgala, and Calzato are treated as if they were genitives.

Gomiz Fredenandiz, Serracinus Siliz, Froila Scemeniz (*Carte basso-latine,* VI, 926); Vermud Nunniz, Nunno Sarracini, Rudricus Velasquiz, Zulajman filius Teudrici, Olalio Nunniz, Garsea Purcelli, Assur Munniz (Villada, LII, 954); Gomize Didaci, Fredenandus Ueremudiz, Osorius Didaci (*ibid.,* LIV, 975); Pelagio Fafilaz, Felix Gromaci (*ibid.,* LV, 989); Roman Hordonniz, Pelagius Didaci (*ibid.,* LVI, 1012); Vermudu Bazari, Gudinus Zelmizi (Muñoz, XXV, 973); Ranimirus Sancioni regis filius, Didaco Nuniz (*ibid.,* XXVIII, 1044); Dominicus Aluitiz, Petro Pelaiz, Fernandus Guterri majordomus (*ibid.,* XLII, 1137); Gundisaluus Roderici; Lupus Didaci, Gundisaluus Petri, Roderico Ferdinandez, Sancius Sancii, Gundisaluus Dominici, Munno Aluarez, Garsie Gonsalvez (*Doc. ling.,* V, 1220).

In some documents there is a curious intermingling of Latin genitives, Spanish patronymics ending in *-z,* and Arabic names in which *Iben* is used as the equivalent of *filius.* Petrus Sangiz, Zamega Iben Hut, Forti Ortiz, Arron Guelioli, Mohomat Iben Ava, Mohomat Iben Galindu, Haron Iben Zirius, Mariellu Annahez, Haiuui Iben Totelii (*ibid.,* XXXVI, no date).

Toward the end of the thirteenth century it became the custom in some families to retain the patronymic without change. Thus: Pero Lopez fijo de don Domjngo Lopez (*Doc. ling.,* CXXX, 1289); Johan Roys fijo de Pero Roys (*ibid.,* LXIX, 1290); Yo Elvira Lopez e mi fijo Pero Lopez (*ibid.,* CXXXII, 1313). This custom spread until in the course of time the change of patronymics from generation to generation ceased altogether.

There seems to be no question that during the Middle Ages the Spaniards considered the patronymic in *-z* to be the equivalent of a Latin genitive. Occasionally the patronymic of one and the same person has a Latin genitive ending

and again the ending *-zi* or *-z* with identical meaning, as in the following: Adelgaster filius Silonis regis; ego iamdictus Adelgaster Siliz (*Carte basso-latine,* I, 780); Gondesalbo Tellizi, Gundisaluus Telli (*Valpuesta,* XI, 911); Fredenando Gondesalbiz (*ibid.,* XVII, 939) and Fredenandus prolis Gundesalbi (*ibid.,* XXIV, 950); Munnio Gondesalbi (*ibid.,* XLIX, 1035) and Munniomu (*sic*) Gondesalbiz (*ibid.,* LI, 1035–1054) Luppus Didaci (*Doc. ling.,* XLVIII, 1225) and Lop Diaz (*ibid.,* L).

In the documents of the church of Valpuesta the names of Count Fernán González first appear in XVII (939) as "Fredenando Gondesalbiz in Castella." In XXIV (950) the names appear as "Fredenandus prolis Gundesalbi," and in XXXIV (957 or 958) as "Fredenando Gondesalboz in Castella."

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the origin of the Spanish custom of using patronymics in *-z.*[4] The discussion will be limited to the origin and development of the patronymic suffixes *-az, -ez, -iz, -oz,* and rarely *-uz.* Gröber (*Grundriss,* I, p. 992) is of the opinion that Didaz derives from Didaci, and that *-ez* comes from *-ici.* He mentions the fact that names in *-icus* were especially popular in Lusitania. The suggestion of Diez that the Spanish and Portuguese patronymics in *-ez* derive from the Gothic genitive in *-is* (*Gram.* III[3], p. 142, note) has not met with acceptance.

The original form of the Spanish patronymic ending *-z* was *-ci* or *-tii,* thus: Teudrici (Villada, LII, 954); Gromaci

[4] Not all patronymics in Old Spanish ended in *-z.* Thus: Garcea (*Carte basso-latine,* IV, 905), Garcea (*Valpuesta,* XLIV, 973), Garcia (*ibid.,* XLVII, 1019). Later *-z* is sometimes, though rarely, added to this patronymic: Garciez (*Doc. ling.,* XLIX, 1225). Gomez serves both as a given name (from Gometium?) and as a patronymic (from Gometii?). The loss of final *-o* in the given name might result from its frequent use in the atonic position, and would be analogous to Per for Pero.

(*ibid.*, LV, 929); Gomici Didaci in Levanes (*Cid*, p. 540, year 1051); Gomiz Didatii in Lebanenses (*ibid.*, 1059); Poncii, Pocii (Villada, LXXXI, 1139); Rod*e*rici (*Doc. ling.*, CCXVIII, 1233); Dominici (*ibid.*, CCLXVI, 1206).

In Latin formulas at the beginning and at the end of legal documents, these forms were long retained as in some of the examples given above. By metathesis of *r* Gromaci became Gormaz. Rod*e*rici appeared in the document cited as Rodici: in the published version Menéndez Pidal added *er*. The later form Ruiz may be derived directly from Rodici, with loss of *r* by dissimilation, and it is possible that Rodici would have been the better reading in the historical document which Menéndez Pidal transcribed.

The next forms of the patronymic ending to appear in order of time are *-zi* and *-ze*. The following names were noted: Gomizi (*Valpuesta*, I, 804); Tellizi (*ibid.*, XI, 911); Vigilazi (*ibid.*, XII, 919); Assurizi Gomizi (*ibid.*, XXXVIII, 966); Zelmizi, Godenandizi, Siquizi (Muñoz, XXV, 973); Obeccozi (*Valpuesta*, XXXIX, 966–984); comiti Gomizi Didaz (*Cid*, p. 536, note 1, 977); Fredenadizi (*Valpuesta*, XLVI, 984–995); Tellize, Munioze (*ibid.*, LV, 1050); Alborozi (*ibid.*, LVII, 1050); Ferrozi (*ibid.*, LVIII, 1053); Frolazi—Frolaz also appears—(Muñoz, XXXI, 1077); Odoarizi (*ibid.*, XXXVIII, 1130). The forms in *-zi* and *-ze* seem to be archaic and unusual in the tenth century. They decrease in number in the eleventh century and disappear early in the twelfth.

The patronymic ending *-aze* passed to *az*. The commonest name in *-az* is Didaz or Diaz. The earliest samples of Didaz and Diaz I have found, are: Didaz (*Valpuesta*, II, 804); Didaz and Diaz (*Cid*, p. 537, year 932),[5] Diaz (Muñoz,

[5] "... in presentia de illo comite de Fredinando Gundesaluiz et suo alfierez Gomiz Didaz, et de Fredinando Diaz," Berganza, *Antig.*, II, p. 379.

XIV, 1110). The form Didaz that is found in *Valpuesta* (II, 804) is probably not the original form of the word. The manuscript in which it occurs is a later copy, and I suspect that the original form of the word was Didazi.

Other names in *-az* are: Annaiaz (*Valpuesta,* II, 804); Beilaz (*ibid.,* XXXII, 950–951); Vegilaz (Villada, LVI, 1012); Froylaz (*Esp. sagr.* XXXVIII, p. 309, year 1056); Ueliaz (*Valpuesta,* LXIV, 1064); Annanaz (Muñoz, XXXVI, no date); Ectaz (*ibid.,* XLII, 1137).

Of these the one in most common use today is Díaz. In Old Spanish Díago was commoner than Díego, and Díaz was commoner than Díez. Diego survived with shift of stress from *i* to *e.* Both Díaz and Díez survived, but Díaz is the commoner.

The patronymic ending *-ize* passed first to *-iz* and then, in most cases, to *-ez.* The earliest example of *-iz* that I have found is in an Asturian document dated 780 (*Carte basso-latine,* I), viz.: "Adelgaster filius Silonis regis... ego iamdictus Adelgaster Siliz." The next in time are found in *Valpuesta* (II, 804): "Didacus episcopus testis, Didaco Didaz, Nunno Nunniz, Tello Telliz, Gudistio Pedriz, Severo Nunniz, Osoro Petriz, Petro Annaiaz, Didaco Pelaiz." It is noteworthy that in three of these, Didaco Diaz, Nunno Nunniz, and Tello Telliz, the son has the same name as his father, which is unusual.

The following names in *-iz* are among those that were noted: Siliz (*Carte basso-latine,* I, 780); Nunniz, Telliz, Pedriz, Petriz, Pelaiz (*Valpuesta,* II, 804); Victoriz (*ibid.,* X, 903); Daviz (*Carte basso-latine,* V, 907); Gomiz, Menendiz, Siliz, Scemeniz (*ibid.,* VII, 926); Gutierriz, Menendiz (Villada, L, 920); Gomiz, Gundisaluiz (*Cid,* p. 537, year 932); Gondesalbiz (*Valpuesta,* XVII, 939); Heliz (Muñoz, XXI, 943); Telliz (*Valpuesta* XXI, and XXIII, 950);

Munniz (*ibid.,* XXVIII, 950); Nunniz, Manitiz, Velasquiz, Odariz, Olaliz, Gondemarjz, Zitiz, Munniz (Villada, LII, 954); Obequiz (Muñoz, XXIV, 962); Ueremudiz (Villada, LIV, 975); Fredenandiz, Sarraciniz (*Valpuesta,* XLIII, 971); Fredenandiz, Osoriz, Farraciniz, Uermudiz, Pinioliz, Uimarediz (Villada, LV, 989); Gomiz, Siljz, Nunniz, Hardonniz, Hermegjldiz, Elagjniz, Flaginiz, Menendiz (*ibid.,* LVI, 1012); Sandiz (Muñoz, XXVII, 1030); Gondesalbiz (*Valpuesta,* LI, 1035–1054); Fernandiz (*Cid,* p. 540, year 1039); Nuniz (Muñoz, XXVIII, 1044); Petriz (*Valpuesta,* LVI, 1050); Frenandiz (*ibid.,* LXX, 1066); Asuriz, Ansuriz, Ermeildiz (*Cid,* p. 550, year 1071); Petriz (Muñoz, XXXI, 1077); Ranimiriz (*ibid.,* XXXII, 1077); Ferrandiz (Villada, LIX, 1080); Sangiz (*Valpuesta,* LXXIII, 1086); Patierniz (*ibid.,* LXXIV, 1087); Vellidiz, Vellitiz, Domenquiz (Muñoz, XXXIII, 1089); Assuriz, Moniz (*ibid.,* XXXV, 1095); Oriquiz (Villada, LXXXVI, 1098); Sangiz, Ortiz (Muñoz, XXXVI, no date); Roiz (*Doc. ling.,* XXXVI, 1102); Petriz, Gunsalviz, Xabiz, Alderetiz, Ucaniz, Vermuiz, Monni Ermeildiz, Gudesteiz, Fernandez, Martinz (*sic*) (Muñoz, XIV, 1110); Gomiz Pelaiz (*Cid,* 1112); Pelaiz, Rodriquiz (Muñoz, XXXVII, 1118); Petriz (*ibid.,* XLI, 1136); Alvitiz, Petriz, Pelaiz (*ibid.,* XLII, 1137); Gomiz (*Doc. ling.,* CXI, 1152); Petriz (Muñoz, XLIV, 1172); Gonzaliz Petriz (*Doc. ling.,* III, 1205).

In general it may be said that the form *-iz* disappears at about the beginning of the thirteenth century. To this statement the exception must be made that names with stressed *-iz* retain this form to the present day, as for example, Ortiz and Ruiz.

The earliest forms in *-ez* that I have noted are the following: Albarez, Fredenandez, Sansonez—Telliz appears in the same document—(*Valpuesta,* XX, 950); Paternez (*ibid.,*

XXIII, 950); Quentullez (*ibid.*, XXV, 950); Gomez (Villada, LII, 954); Sanchez (*Valpuesta,* XLVII, 1019); Fannez —Petriz appears also—(*ibid.*, LVI, 1050); Flainez (Villada, LIX, 1080); Domengez—Assuriz and Moniz appear also—(Muñoz, XXXV, 1095); Arrahez (*ibid.*, XXXVI, no date); Martinez, Sangez (Villada, LXIII, 1130); Garcez (*ibid.*, XL, 1134). The form in *-ez* seems to appear first in the tenth century. In the eleventh century there is hesitancy between *-iz* and *-ez,* and in the twelfth century the common form is *-ez.*[6]

The following patronymics in *-oz* were noted: Blascoz, Belascoz, Fredenandoz (*Valpuesta,* XVIII, 940); Munnioz,[7] Scemenoz (*ibid.*, XIX, 945); Galindoz (*ibid.*, XXII, 950); Gondesalboz (*ibid.*, XXXIV, 957 or 958); Amuscoz (*ibid.*, XLV, 975); Albaroz, Ofecoz, Sangoz (*ibid.*, LXXVIII, no date); Rudericoz (Villada, LV, 989); Ennagoz (*ibid.*, LXIII, 1130); Gustioz (*Cid,* V, 2169).[8]

Most of the patronymics in *-oz(e)* and *-uz* also appear with *-iz* or *-ez,* thus: Telliz (*Valpuesta,* II, 804); Velasquiz (Villada, LII, 954); Fredenandiz (*ibid.*, LV, 989); Muniz (*Valpuesta,* LXXVII, no date); and Munniz (Villada, LII, 954); Scemeniz (*Carte basso-latine,* VII, 926); Gondesalbiz (*Valpuesta,* XVII, 939); Albarez (*ibid.*, XX, 950); Sangiz (*ibid.*, LXXIII, 1086); Rodriquiz (*ibid.*, XXXVII, 1118).[9]

[6] In the thirteenth century *Prim. crón. gen.* the first name in *-z* (*-iz* does not appear) is that of a person who flourished about the year 800, viz. San Diaz (p. 350). About seven years later come the names of Maria Melendez, Blasco Melendez, Urraca Sanchez, and Suero Uelasquez.

[7] The name of a Moor—Munnuz moro—appears (*Prim. crón. gen.*, p. 331) as of the eighth century. Whether this is the same name as the common Munnoz or Munnioz (*Valpuesta,* XIX, 945) I do not know.

[8] Occasionally a patronymic in *-uz* appears, as Telluz (*Valpuesta,* XI, 911), Munniuz (Villada, LVI, 1012).

[9] In a document of 911 (*Valpuesta,* XI), we find Gondesalbo Tellizi and Gundesalbo Telluz. Barrau-Dihigo says of Telluz: "C'est vraisemblablement le

In the tenth century, and sporadically for a century or two later, there was some hesitancy in forming the patronymics of names ending in *-o*. Thus, the patronymic of Fredenando appears as Fredenandiz (or *-ez),* and also as Fredenandoz. In the first case the *-iz* or *-ez* is added directly to the stem; in the second case *-z* is added to the final *-o* of the name. In the course of time *-ez* prevailed, and *-oz* persisted only when stressed, as in Muñoz.[10]

By about the beginning of the thirteenth century, the *-z* of the patronymics begins to appear as *-t* or *-s* in some Castilian documents: Ferrandet (*Doc. ling.,* LXXX, 1199); Goncaluet, Royt, Ferrandet (*ibid.,* CLXXVI, 1126: this document is of Burgos); Perit and Periz in the same document (*ibid.,* LX, 1267); Lopet, Peret, Sanchet, Diat, Gutieret, Martinet (*ibid.,* CVII, 1285). In the fourteenth-century copy of the *Cid* we find Pelayet (v. 3457). This spelling is sporadic, and disappeared in time. I believe the *-t* to indi-

même personnage qui est nommé au début de la charte" (Tellizi). In a note he adds: "Dans un acte du 25 oct. 913, on lit: 'regnante principe Garseani in Legione et comite Gundisalvo Telliz in Cerasio'." In the *"copie partielle d'après C."* of Argaiz, the count's name appears as Gundisaluus Telli, so that we find four forms of his patronymic: Telli, Tellizi, Telliz, and Telluz.

[10] There does not seem to be satisfactory evidence that the *-oz* was stressed, except in a few patronymics such as Munnoz. In the *Cid,* Vermuez occurs eight times in *-ó-e* assonance, and Menéndez Pidal, in his critical edition, has changed this patronymic to Vermudoz, with stress on the *-oz.* Although I hesitate to differ from so competent an authority as the distinguished editor of the *Cid,* I am inclined to believe that we have here an example of *-údez* or *-úez* assonating with *-óe.* Vermúdo might give as an old Spanish patronymic either Vermúdiz or Vermúdoz. The former, by the twelfth century, might well become Vermúez. With the exception of Muñoz, Gustioz, etc., I have found only one example of patronymics in *-oz* later than the eleventh century, namely Ennegoz (Villada, LXIII, 1130), and I note that Menéndez Pidal (*Cid,* p. 245, note) cites as of the twelfth century, with *-oz,* only the same name.

In the *Cid,* it is difficult to determine the form of a word by the meter, as the syllables are not counted with exactness, but it may be of interest to note that in the eight final hemistichs in which Vermúez occurs, five are of seven syllables if Vermúez is retained, while there are only three of seven syllables if Vermudóz is the accepted reading.

cate a fricative voiceless dental, perhaps an intermediate stage between *ts* and theta.

At about the same time *-s* replaces *-z* in some Castilian documents: Peres, Ssanches (*Doc. ling.*, CCLXXXVIII, 1297); Peres, Gonçales, Domingues, Ferrandis (*ibid.*, IX, 1299). The *-s* for *-z* in some Castilian documents, and the *-t* for *-z* in some others, may indicate a hesitancy in the pronunciation of final *z* from the thirteenth century on, even in Castile. Eventually the theta sound prevailed in most of central and northern Spain, while *s* prevailed in most of southern Spain.[11]

SUMMARY

The Spanish patronymic ending *-z* is derived from the Latin genitive endings *-ci* and *-tii*. In chronological order the forms are *-ci* or *-tii*, *-zi* (*z* = *dz*), *-ze* (*z* = *dz*), *-z* (*z* probably = *ts*), *-z* (*z* = theta in central and northern Spain, and = *s* in southern Spain and Spanish America).

In the medieval Latin documents of Spain and in the Latin formulas at the beginning and at the end of Spanish documents, the patronymics of names that do not end in *-cus* or *-tius* also take a Latin genitive ending, usually *-i*, as Petri (from Petrus); Lupi (from Lupus); Fredenandi (from Fredenandus). This final unstressed *-i* would weaken to *-e*, and in many words the *-e* would fall. The patronymics ending in *-i*, other than those in *-ci* and *-tii*, thus became meaningless, and *-iz(e)* was extended by analogy to many of these names, so that we find Pedriz(e), Lopiz(e) and Fredenandiz(e) to be the Old Spanish equivalents of Petri, Lupi, and Fredenandi.[12]

[11] In Portugal, where the history of these patronymics in *-z* seems to be about the same as in Spain, *-s* prevailed generally.

[12] The force of analogy in language is stronger than is generally believed. In Old Spanish the following strong preterites were developed normally: *ove*

Some of the Latin genitives in *-ci* or *-tii* noted in this article are stressed on the antepenultimate syllable, as Dídaci, Grómaci, Domínici, Póntii, Sántii; and some are stressed on the penultimate as Roderíci, Teudríci. When, by analogy, the Old Spanish ending *-iz(e)* was added to the stem of nouns of the second declension, the accent did not shift. Cf. Pédro, Pédriz(e); Fredenándo, Fredenándiz(e); etc.

An examination of the names has given a few examples of doublets, one form of each doublet being derived from the Latin accusative and the other from the genitive:

1. Didacum: Diago or Diego. Didaci: Didaz, Diaz.
2. Rodericum: Rodrigo. Roderici: Roriz, Roiz, Ruiz.

The second *r* of Roriz seems to fall by dissimilation. Ruy is probably a back formation from Ruiz. Rodríguez is an analogical form made from Rodrigo.[13]

3. Santium or Sancium: Sancho (?). Santii or Sancii: Sanz.

Muñoz (XXXII) gives both Santius and Sancii. Sánchez is an analogical form made from Sancho.[14]

(from Latin *habui*), *sope* (from Latin *sapui*), *plogue* (from Latin *placui*). By analogy with these were formed: *andove* (Latin *ambitavi*), *cope* (Latin *cepi*), *crove* (Latin *credidi*), *sove* (Latin *sedi*), *tove* (Latin *tenui*).

Two strong preterites with *u*-stems were developed normally: *pude* (from Latin *potui*) and *puse* (from Latin *posui*). In the course of time *pude* and *puse*, by the force of analogy, drew into their category *cupe* (from *cope*), *hube* (from *ove*), *plugue* (from *plogue*), and *supe* (from *sope*). In short, the two strong preterites *pude* and *puse* were able to attract into their category the four preterites *cope, ove, plogue,* and *sope*. *Crove* and *sove* disappeared.

It is not surprising therefore, that the *-iz(e)* which derived from Latin *-ici, -itii,* and which was a distinctive patronymic suffix, should have been extended by analogy to names which lost the *-i* ending.

[13] Rodrigo, with retention of *d*, and Ruiz, with loss of *d*, are similar to Pedro and Pérez. The old form Pero is still heard, but Pedro is commoner. The retention of *d* in Rodrigo and Pedro may show that these are semi-learned forms, while Ruiz and Pérez are more popular.

[14] Santium and Sancium appear in the documents, apparently as the equivalent of Sancho, but the origin of the form Sancho is in doubt. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid,* 40, footnote 2) quotes: "Berganza, Antigüedades ... En I, 444 b.

4. Pontium: Poncio. Pontii: Ponz or Ponce.

5. Odericum: ?. Odarici: Odariz.

I do not find Odarigo or Oderigo, but Du Cange gives Oderico (*Peregrinatio,* by the Italian Oderico de Bordonone).

cree que el nombre don Sancho de las Crónicas pudo originarse del título sanctus que lleva el abad verdadero." Ford (*Old Spanish Readings,* 224) suggests Sanctulus as the possible etymon of Sancho. It is possible that Sancho shows the influence of the *c* in *sanctus,* or that it was due in the first place to the pronunciation of children (cf. Pancho, Concha, Mariucha, etc.).

Out of a score of more or less distinct Romance dialects, at the present time, only five have the advantage of being the official languages of the countries in which they are spoken. These five are Rumanian, Tuscan, Francien, Castilian, and Portuguese. These and these alone are taught in public schools and used in official documents. Thus, in the kingdom of Italy, such important languages as Neapolitan, Venetian, and Genoese, to mention only a few of them, have been forced to recognize the official and literary predominance of Tuscan, not on account of any original superiority of the Tuscan language, but because the latter is spoken in the center of Italy—which includes the capital—and because such outstanding writers as Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio happened to use it. All the schools in Italy teach Tuscan, or rather they teach the standard "Italian," which is based on Tuscan. This is becoming the common language of the entire peninsula, and when a Neapolitan converses with a Venetian or a Genoese, he usually has to speak Tuscan in order to be understood. If Italy remains united and keeps a strong and highly centralized government, the other dialects may disappear, and standard "Italian" become the speech of the common people in all Italy. If this should happen, it will not be for the first time. More than two thousand years ago the language of Latium won the same favored position that the language of Tuscany holds today. At that time, if a Greek from southern Italy wished to converse with an Oscan or an Etruscan from central Italy or a Celt from northern Italy, he had in most cases to talk Latin in order to be understood, as Latin had become the official language and the common means of communication in all the peninsula. In time, Greek in most of southern Italy, Oscan and Umbrian,

Etruscan, and the Celtic of the continent became mere peasant patois, and finally, after many centuries, they disappeared completely. There is no reason to believe that Latin was inherently a nobler human speech than Oscan, for instance. Latin secured certain political and social advantages and became a highly polished medium of communication, while Oscan, spoken ultimately only by rude peasants, became less and less capable of expressing noble thoughts. But if Oscan had been spoken in Rome and Latin had been spoken elsewhere, there is no reason to doubt that Oscan would have become the language of Italy and of the Roman Empire.

In France and in Spain the linguistic conditions are similar to those that prevail in Italy today, except that in France the Francien dialect, and in Spain the Castilian dialect, have been the official languages of their countries for a longer time and their use is more widespread. But in Spain[1] at least one-third of the people are bilingual, using one language in their homes and another in their literary and commercial communications, and in France[2] probably one-half of the people are likewise bilingual. In Rumania the situation is also similar, while in Portugal, which is smaller than the other Latin states, there is greater linguistic unity.

More than once the question has been raised as to which of the five official Romance languages is nearest to the spoken Latin of two thousand years ago, and this honor—if it be such—has been claimed for Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, but never seriously, I believe, for French. Probably there will never be a generally accepted answer to this question, and, moreover, the question has no importance.

[1] The languages of Spain are Castilian, Catalan, Galician, and Basque.

[2] The languages of France are French, Provençal, Basque, Gascon, Breton, Normand, *et al.*, Alsatian-German, Savoyard, and Corsican.

But, in this connection, one fact stands out very clearly. The Romance dialects of northern France form one family, while those of the south—of Italy, of southern France, and of Spain and Portugal—form another. An illiterate juggler or peddler can travel through Italy, Provence, Spain, and Portugal and by means of a sort of *lingua franca* he can, without great difficulty, make himself understood everywhere by the peasants, but if he crosses into northern France where the *a* of *mar(e)* and *sal(e)* becomes the *e* of *mer* and *sel,* where the *e* of *me* and *vela* becomes the *oi* of *moi* and *voile,* where the *o* of *cort(e)* becomes the *ou* of *cour* and the *o* of *honor(e)* becomes the *eu* of *honneur,* where *tant(o)* becomes [tɑ̃] and *vin(o)* becomes [vɛ̃]—if he crosses into northern France and meets most of these new forms for the first time, he will find himself in a distinctly different linguistic environment from any that he found in the south, and he will have great difficulty in understanding the people and in making himself understood.

There is no question that French, to limit the discussion to the Francien dialect of northern France, has drifted much farther away from the Vulgar Latin of the second and third centuries of our era than have Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese. Perhaps Rumanian should not enter into this discussion at all, as it is a relatively small Romance island in a vast Slavonic sea, and while in some respects it has been remarkably conservative, in others it has yielded to Slavonic and other influences.

Why has French drifted farther away from Latin than have Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese? It is commonly believed that cultural influences and firmly established traditions tend to keep a language from drifting or at least that they retard the drift. If this be true, we must assume that in the early centuries of our era cultural influences and tra-

ditions were weaker in northern Gaul than in any other part of the Romance territory. There final *e* and *o* and intervocalic *t* and *d* first fell, stressed open *a* became *e*, *u* became [y], and *ca* became [tʃa] or [tʃə], etc. One can imagine how queer the speech of the northern French must have seemed to one from Italy or Spain.

There is today a school of philologists who hold that there would be no changes in a language without a change in environment. If this be true, the changes in environment must have been extensive and rapid in northern France. But, in my opinion, this theory as to linguistic change is only a half-truth. Changes in environment may account for most changes in vocabulary, but I doubt that they are the chief causes of change in pronunciation. Thus, the change of open stressed *a* to *e* and of *u* to [y] in northern France was probably not due to a change in environment. Or if it was due to such a change, no evidence has been adduced to prove it.

Not long ago I asked a distinguished Parisian scholar why the speech of Gaul had drifted so rapidly and so far away from the common Vulgar Latin of the third century. He replied that no one could answer that question definitely, but he presumed it was due to the fact that in northern Gaul there were relatively few Romans in a large population of Celts, and northern Gaul became separated from the mother country, Italy, before Latin had become fully and firmly established. This explanation is mere conjecture, but it is plausible.

At any rate the drift in French has been remarkably swift and extensive. Let us illustrate this with a few examples. In the Île de France, Vulgar Latin *carta* [karta] probably became [kjarta] > [tʃartå][3] > [ʃart]. Let us suppose that the

[3] In this article [å] is used to indicate an obscure *a*. And [a] is used in Vulgar Latin, Italian, and Spanish without regard to the quality of the vowel.

English word *card* [kard] should become *cyard* [kjard], and then *chard* [tʃard] and finally *shard* [ʃard] in one part of the United States and should remain *card* in all the rest of the country. The fate of English *card* would be quite comparable to that of Vulgar Latin *carta* which has become *charte* [ʃart] in northern France, but has remained *carta* in most of the Romance territory. I have heard *cyard* for *card* in the speech of a Canadian on the north bank of the St. Lawrence River opposite Clayton, New York, and in the speech of a South Carolinian and an Australian. Evidently *cyard* for *card* is widespread, but I doubt that it will be generally adopted in English.

Let us take the Vulgar Latin word for a sword, *(i)spata.* In northern Gaul the changes seem to have been as follows: [(i)spata] >[espɛdå]>[e(s)peðå], with an indistinct *s* and a fricative *d* like the Andalusian *s* and *d* of Spanish *espada,* and finally >*épée* [epe]. In Spanish, Portuguese, and some northern Italian dialects it has become *espada.*

The Vulgar Latin *tanto* has not suffered any change in Italian and Spanish, while in Portuguese the final *o* became *u* and is now on the point of disappearing. In northern Gaul [tanto]>[tant]>[tãn]>[tɑ̃]. The second form [tant], by the way, is today the common form in southern France, and in most of the Romance dialects of the Italian and Spanish peninsulas, with the exception of Tuscan and Castilian. Incidentally it is curious that the Romance languages of central Italy and of central Spain should have kept the final *o,* while the others, including Rumanian, should have lost it.

The change of [u] to [y] is peculiar to French dialects and to some of the northern Italian dialects. It does not occur in Tuscan, nor in Spanish and Portuguese. In some parts of the United States—I have noticed it oftenest in southern Indiana and southern Ohio—there is a pronunciation of

English [u], as in *two* [tu], that seems to indicate a drift toward [y]. The popular *u* of this region seems to be made with the tongue farther forward than is the case in standard English. It has not yet become a French [y] and perhaps it never will, but it has certainly moved in that direction. Perhaps when [y] for [u] first appeared in Gaul, educated people and other conservatives were duly shocked by the new vulgarism and did all they could to oppose it. Or perhaps the shift was so slow as to be imperceptible. At any rate, to the people of most of Italy and to the people of Spain the Gallic [y] must have seemed a barbarism.

The loss of final *s* in French came much later than most of the other changes mentioned above. In fact *s* final in a word disappeared first of all in Italy, but the loss of *s* did not greatly affect the speech of Italy. *Mais* from *magis* became *mai, plus* became *più,* etc., and in verb forms such as *amas* the ending *i* was substituted for *as,* giving *ami.* In Gaul and Spain final *s* was retained and it was ultimately adopted as the sign of plurality in nouns and adjectives. In the Spanish of most of central Spain, *s* final in a word or syllable is still uttered distinctly, but in parts of southern Spain it has become an indistinct aspirate and it would most likely soon disappear altogether if it were not for the restraining influence of standard Spanish. In Portuguese, final *s* has become palatal, as in *escudos* [iʃkuð(u)ʃ].

In French, *s* final in any syllable has disappeared completely, as in *espedes* [espeðəs] > modern *épées* [epe], *les livres* [les livrəs] > [le livr]. This change, too, doubtless came very slowly. Perhaps the final *s* became a faint aspirate, as in southern Spanish, and then faded away almost imperceptibly.

The loss of final *s,* which French had adopted as a sign of plurality, might have left the language without any means

of distinguishing the plural from the singular, were it not for the fact that the language has an inflected definite article that denotes plurality whether the *s* be kept or lost. Thus, in *la plume* [la plym] and *les plumes* [le plym], *l'enfant* [l ãfã] and *les enfants* [le z ãfã], the noun is the same in the singular and in the plural—I refer, of course, to the spoken language—but the article makes clear whether the noun is singular or plural. It is usually the definite article that determines the number of a noun, but the possessives and the demonstratives do so too. Thus, in *cette belle fleur* [sɛt bɛl flœr] and *ces belles fleurs* [se bɛl flœr], *cette* [sɛt] and *ces* [se] indicate clearly whether [flœr] is singular or plural. Sometimes there is nothing in the sound to tell whether the noun is singular or plural, as in *tissé en fils d'or* [tise ã fil d ɔr], but such cases are surprisingly rare and can be avoided, if need be. French has also, quite incidentally, adopted a new sort of plural ending for a few words, as by changing [-al] to [-o] : thus, singular *cheval* [ʃəval], plural *chevaux* [ʃəvo] ; etc. But with the exception of a few such words as *cheval,* French nouns have the same form for the singular and the plural, and the number of a noun is indicated only by the form of the limiting adjective—article, demonstrative, possessive, numeral, etc.—that modifies it. A similar condition exists in modern Provençal, but not in the other Romance languages.

Of the three official languages of southern Europe, Portuguese is the farthest removed geographically from Rome, and likewise—at least this is my opinion—it has drifted farthest away from the Vulgar Latin of the second and third centuries. After the disintegration of the Roman Empire there must have been little intercourse between the inhabitants of the west coast and those of the north-central region of the Spanish peninsula, as marked differences in the speech of

the two peoples developed at an early date. In most of the Romance territory Vulgar Latin open *e* and *o* developed diphthongs in open syllables and not in closed syllables, as in Italian *piede* and *muore* (from Vulgar Latin [pɛde] and [mɔre(t)], *perde* and *porta* (from Vulgar Latin [pɛrde(t)] and [pɔrta]); and in French *pied* and *meurt, perd* and *porte.* But in Castilian these vowels, as a rule, developed diphthongs even in closed syllables, as in *pie* and *muere, pierde* and *puerta,* while in Portuguese they did not develop diphthongs at all, as in *pé* and *morre, perde* and *porta.* Thus, in the development of diphthongs from Vulgar Latin open *e* and *o,* Spanish represents the one extreme in the Romance field while Portuguese represents the other extreme, although these two languages are spoken in contiguous territories.

While it is generally true that French has drifted away from Vulgar Latin farther than the southern Romance languages, in at least one respect French has been the most conservative of all. Thus, initial *cl-, fl-,* and *pl-* have been kept intact in the north, but not in the southern peninsulas. This fact is illustrated by the following list of words:

Vulgar Latin	French	Italian	Spanish	Portuguese
clave, *key*.....	clef	chiave	llave	chave
flamma, *flame*..	flamme	fiamma	llama	chama
pleno, *full*.....	plein	pieno	lleno	cheio

A friend of mine, who is a distinguished philologist, is of the opinion that the conservation of *cl-, fl-,* and *pl-* in Gaul was due to Germanic influence. He bases this opinion largely on the fact that in Portugal and southern Italy, which were farthest removed from Germanic influence, *cl-, fl-,* and *pl-* drifted farthest away from the Vulgar Latin forms. I see no way to determine whether this hypothesis be correct or not.

In order to see how far the Romance languages have

drifted away from the Vulgar Latin, or Folk Latin, of the third century of our era, let us compare the history of a few typical words.

In this table certain symbols are used as follows: å for an obscure front *a*; g for a fricative velar consonant; j for both the semi-consonant and semi-vowel in diphthongs; ñ for the palatal nasal consonant; ö for the close, œ for the open vowel, both spelled *eu* in French. Other symbols are used in accord with the international phonetic alphabet.

Vulgar Latin	Italian	Spanish	Portuguese	French
[amiko], *friend*.....	[amiko]	[amigo]	[åmig(u)]	[ami]
[vino], *wine*.....	[vino]	[bino]	[viñ(u)]	[vɛ̃]
[tela], *cloth*.....	[tela]	[tela]	[telå]	[twal]
[pɛde], *foot*.....	[pjɛde]	[pje]	[pɛ]	[pje]
[tɛrra], *land*.....	[tɛrra]	[tjɛrra]	[tɛrrå]	[tɛr]
[vɛnto], *wind*.....	[vɛnto]	[bjento]	[vent(u)]	[vɑ̃]
[mare], *sea*.....	[mare]	[mar]	[mar]	[mɛr]
[kapo], *head*.....	[kapo]	[kaƀo]	[kaƀ(u)]	[ʃɛf]
[lakte], *milk*.....	[latte]	[letʃe]	[låjt]	[lɛ]
[tanto], *so much*.....	[tanto]	[tanto]	[tånt(u)]	[tɑ̃]
[ora], *hour*.....	[ora]	[ora]	[orå]	[œr]
[bokka], *mouth*.....	[bokka]	[boka]	[bokå]	[buʃ]
[mɔre(t)], *dies*.....	[mwɔre]	[mwere]	[mɔrr(e)]	[mœr]
[pɔrta], *door*.....	[pɔrta]	[pwɛrta]	[pɔrtå]	[pɔrt]
[nɔkte], *night*.....	[nɔtte]	[notʃe]	[nojt]	[nɥi]
[pɔnte], *bridge*.....	[ponte]	[pwente]	[pont]	[pɔ̃]
[una], *one*.....	[una]	[una]	[umå]	[yn]
[uno], *one*.....	[un(o)]	[un(o)]	[ũ]	[(œ̃)]
[kaballo], *horse*.....	[kavallo]	[kaƀaλo]	[kåval(u)]	[ʃəval]
[kaballos], *(acc. pl)*..	———	[kaƀaλos]	[kåval(u)ʃ]	[ʃəvo]
[krede(t)], *believes*...	[krede]	[kree]	[kre]	[krwɑ]
[mɛdio], *half*.....	[mɛdzo]	[meðjo]	[måj(u)]	[mi]
[ɔdje], *today*.....	[ɔdʒi]	[ɔi]	[oʒ]	[ɥi]
[fɛrro], *iron*.....	[fɛrro]	[jɛrro]	[fɛrr(u)]	[fɛr]
[karo], *dear*.....	[karo]	[karo]	[kar(u)]	[ʃɛr]
[akwa], *water*.....	[akkwa]	[agwa]	[agwå]	[o]
[sekuro], *sure*.....	[sikuro]	[seguro]	[səgur(u)]	[syr]

Vulgar Latin	Italian	Spanish	Portuguese	French
[lɛkto], *bed*	[lɛtto]	[letʃo]	[lâjt(u)]	[li]
[pɛlle], *skin*	[pɛlle]	[pjɛl]	[pɛl]	[po]
[solo], *alone*	[solo]	[solo]	[sɔ]	[sœl]
[flamma], *flame*	[fjamma]	[λama]	[ʃâmâ]	[flam]
[klave], *key*	[kjave]	[λaƀe]	[ʃav]	[kle]
[plɔve(t)], *it rains*	[pjɔve]	[λweƀe]	[ʃɔv]	[plö]
[ɔklo], *eye*	[ɔkkjo]	[ɔχo]	[oλ(u)]	[œj]
[tɛmpo], *time*	[tɛmpo]	[tjempo]	[temp(u)]	[tɑ̃]
[alkuno], *some*	[alkun(o)]	[algun(o)]	[algũ]	[okœ̃]
[luna], *moon*	[luna]	[luna]	[luâ]	[lyn]
[kapello], *hair*	[kapello]	[kaƀeλo]	[kâƀel(u)]	[ʃəvö]
[sapere], *to know*	[sapere]	[saƀɛr]	[sâƀer]	[savwar]
[amare], *to love*	[amare]	[amar]	[âmar]	[eme]
[(i)skɔla], *school*	[(i)skwɔla]	[eskwela]	[iʃkɔlâ]	[ekɔl]
[tres], *three*	[tre]	[tres]	[treʃ]	[trwɑ]
[amato], *loved*	[amato]	[ama(ð)o]	[âmaƀ(u)]	[eme]
[maturo], *ripe*	[maturo]	[maƀuro]	[mâƀur(u)]	[myr]

Examples such as these may be given without end. In general the drift away from Latin seems to be least in Italian, as one might well expect. Next in order come Spanish and Portuguese. French has drifted away from the ancient moorings farther than any other of these Romance languages.

THE ACCUSATIVE *A*

The use of the preposition *a* (from *ad*) before nouns and pronouns in the accusative case is one of the interesting phenomena of Romance speech. In the following article this use of *a* is treated (I) with respect to its origin and function, and (II) with regard to its geographical distribution.

I

"The preposition *a* seems to have as its function to express more forcefully with regard to a living being capable of a certain action the fact that the living being is the object of the action and not the agent. It is not easy to explain why this prepositional accusative has not been developed in the other languages . . ."[1]

"In Spanish the direct object is introduced by *a* when it denotes a living being, or rather, Spanish separates grammatically the categories of animate and inanimate beings in that the conceptions appertaining to the former are considered active while the latter are considered as being acted on.

"If the meaning of the verb is such that it always or usually refers to living beings, *a* is retained when occasionally there is an inanimate object . . . : *llaman al oro vil metal; las aves saludan a la aurora.* . . . This is of great importance for many verbs. Thus *perder* means 'lose' . . . and also 'ruin.'

"In other cases both methods of expression are used with one and the same verb if it can refer equally to animate and inanimate beings: *abandone su tierra, su casa y a sus padres* (Caballero, *Cuentos,* 7) . . .

[1] Diez, *Grammaire des langues romanes,* translated by Alfred Morel-Fatio and Gaston Paris, Paris, 1876, III, 92.

"Some freedom in the use of *a* is explained by the fact that the preposition appears where the meaning neither of the verb nor of the noun, but rather a certain need of clearness, requires its use: *unos antojos que hacen parecer oro al cobre y a la pobreza riqueza* (*D. Quij.* II, 19).

"On the other hand *a* is naturally omitted in cases such as: . . . *antepongo el Ariosto al Tasso.*"[2]

After pointing out that Old Spanish hesitated in the use of *a* before the direct object, Brauns says: ". . . in Spanish a time came when . . . it was apparently necessary that there should be an unmistakable indication that a living being, which otherwise would have seemed to be the agent, was the object of the action. The personal object then, by means of the preposition *a,* received a distinguishing mark. With the names of things the old method[3] of expressing the object" (without *a*) "sufficed as a rule, although here also the preposition *a* was employed when these words were used in a more personal sense."[4]

"The preposition *a* is often placed before the accusative . . . and then it denotes personality and definiteness. . . . Nothing is more personal and definite than the proper names of persons, that is, of rational beings; they all take the preposition in the accusative: *he leído a Virgilio* . . .

"The names of things do not usually take the preposition, however definite they may be: *cultiva sus haciendas.*

[2] Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen,* Leipzig, 1899, III, 371–372.

[3] Diez, *op. cit.,* III, 91, footnote, says that in the old documents *a* before the accusative is not found prior to the eleventh century and he cites: *ad illa una matabit (a la una mató); decepit ad suo germano (engañó a su hermano),* both of the first half of that century.

[4] Brauns, *Über den präpositionalen Accusativ im Spanischen,* Hamburg, 1909, II, 68. This work is reviewed by S. Gräfenberg, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen,* 1909, 450–451.

"Things that are personified take the preposition *a* when they are definite . . . : *llamar a la muerte, saludar las aves a la aurora* . . .

"When it is necessary to distinguish the accusative from another object formed by the preposition *a,* we can and even must omit *a* in the accusative . . . : *presentaron la cautiva Zenobia al vencedor; prefiero Cádiz a Sevilla.*"[5]

In the accusative "the preposition *a* was introduced by analogy with the dative. Thus the personal object characterized by the preposition was distinguished from the object denoting things."[6]

After stating above the opinions of scholars such as Diez, Meyer-Lübke, and others, I venture to express some of my own, although I have little to offer that is new.

In Spanish the word order is so flexible that in affirmative sentences the subject often follows the verb and the object may precede the verb. If the subject is a human being (a potential agent) and the object an inanimate thing, the word order does not greatly affect the meaning of the sentence, as the living being is naturally assumed to be the subject (or agent), as in *este profesor enseña la lengua latina,* or *enseña la lengua latina este profesor,* or *enseña este profesor la lengua latina,* etc.

On the other hand if the object is a human being, or if both the subject and the object are inanimate things, the free word order in Spanish might well cause confusion.

After the fall of the Latin case endings there may have been hesitancy in early Spanish between two methods of procedure: (1) to distinguish the subject of a verb from the object by putting the subject before, the object after, the verb, as French usually does today; or (2) to indicate the

[5] Bello-Cuervo, *Gramática de la lengua castellana,* Paris, 1918, 233–235.

[6] Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana,* Halle, 1913, 296.

object, both direct and indirect, by the preposition *a*. In the language of the *Poem of the Cid* there is still some hesitancy in this use of *a* if we may trust the text of the sole manuscript extant. Thus: *veremos vuestra mujer* (210); *veré a la mujer* (228); *casastes sus hijas* (2939); *adujesen a sus hijas a Valencia* (2840).

Little by little the Spaniards fell into the habit of using regularly the preposition *a* as a tag to indicate the object of the verb, whenever there would be ambiguity without the preposition. This situation arises most frequently (1) when the object of the verb is a human being—a "person"; but it arises also, and not infrequently, (2) when both the subject and the object are inanimate things. Thus: (1) *Juan mató a Pedro,* or *a Pedro mató Juan,* or *mató Juan a Pedro,* etc.; (2) *el adjetivo modifica al nombre,* or *al nombre modifica el adjetivo,* or *modifica el adjetivo al nombre,* etc.

To sum up, the chief function of *a* in the accusative seemingly is to avoid ambiguity. As there might be ambiguity most often when the object of the verb is a potential agent—a person—the preposition is used oftenest with nouns that denote persons. This is true to such an extent that the popular mind has formed the habit of using *a* with an object noun that denotes a person or thing personified, even when the preposition is not needed to make the meaning clear, as in *busco a mi padre* (by analogy with *busca a su padre*).

But this accusative *a* is not primarily a personal *a*: in its origin it is a tag to point out the object of the verb. It is used when it is needed—and, by extension, sometimes when it is not needed—and it seems to be another example of replacing with a preposition a Latin case ending.

It is interesting to observe how the presence of *a* in the accusative as well as in the dative has brought confusion into the use of the personal pronouns. Thus *le,* originally a dative

form, came into general use as a masculine accusative apparently at about the time when *a* in the accusative became standardized. Cervantes rarely used any other, and among careful modern writers Juan Valera used only *le* when referring to persons. In popular speech, to be sure, *lo* has held its own as the accusative form, and not a few writers use it freely.

Similarly the use of *la* as a dative singular is not uncommon. Cervantes used it frequently, as do many modern writers. In the plural, *les* is sometimes used as an accusative —occasionally in the writings of Pérez Galdós—and *las* occurs frequently as a dative.

The confusion that once prevailed in the use of the preposition *a* in the accusative of nouns and pronouns—other than *que,* and the conjunctive personal pronouns—has not yet entirely disappeared in the use of these personal pronouns.

II

Hanssen states that "the use of the preposition (*a*) is frequent in the Spanish of Turkey. There it is added even to names that denote things."[7]

. . . In Portuguese "the use of this accusative is obligatory only when there might be ambiguity, thus: *o marido á mulher ama,* and vice versa *ao marido a mulher ama* . . . This accusative has extended also to neighboring languages and even to distant dialects, namely, Catalan, Sardinian, and Sicilian. Examples: Catalan, *feu la be guardar a ella a sos fills;* Sardinian, *saluda a Pedru;* Sicilian, *iu amu a diu.*"[8]

". . . In addition to Spanish, *a* is found in Sicilian, Calabrian, Apulian, in the Abruzzi and in Rome, e.g.: Sicilian,

[7] Federico Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana,* Halle, Niemeyer, 1913, 297.

[8] Diez, *op. cit.,* III, 92.

. . . l'aviti vistu a me frati; Calabrian, . . . *Kyama a Maria;* Abruzzi, *a tte te piglia;* Roman, *sentiteme a me. . . .*"[9]

Meyer-Lübke states (p. 373) that *a* before the accusative is used in Portuguese chiefly before pronoun objects, as in *vença o sogro a ti e o genro a este.* And he adds: "We have a geographical continuity" (in the use of *a* in the accusative) "from the southeast of Italy to the western limits of Roman speech."

Meyer-Lübke[10] affirms also: "In Rumanian *pre* from Latin *per* corresponds to the Spanish *a.* The conception is the same: the 'form of interest' " (dative) "takes the place of the simple object" (accusative). But Kalepky[11] (p. 359, footnote) rejoins: "If this refers not only to the use of the personal accusative but . . . also indicates similarity in meaning, this assertion should be considered bold. Between . . . the *a* and *pe* (*pre*) there is indeed a very considerable difference in meaning."

In a pamphlet[12] published recently by Professor G. H. Grojean of the University of British Columbia one finds in the list of faults in the French of southern France a number of expressions that Professor Grojean classifies as *Hispanicisms.* The first of these and the most important is the use of the preposition *à* before the direct object, as in: *le voyez-vous? — A qui? Je vous embrasse à tous; il avait été chargé de venir dire à la démocratie de X. l'estime en laquelle l'Administration la tenait, à elle d'abord et aussi à son vénéré maire.* Professor Grojean tells us that these expressions are

[9] Meyer-Lübke, *op. cit.,* III, 371–373.

[10] *Op. cit.,* III, 373.

[11] Theodor Kalepky, *"Präpositionale Passivobjetke im Spanischen, Portugiesischen und Rumänischen,"* in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* 1913, XXXVII, 358–364.

[12] *Respectons notre langue* (with a preface by M. Paul Stapfer of the University of Bordeaux, France), San Francisco, 1919.

taken from a newspaper published at Ariège, and he adds that this Hispanicism seems ineradicable.

M. Stapfer, in the Preface, discusses this use of *à* as follows: "The most common fault in syntax is probably the use of the preposition *à* before a noun or a pronoun that is the direct object of a verb. . . . In this strange idiom there is probably Spanish influence. . . . I have verified at Bordeaux, and not always among the illiterate, the frequent occurrence of this absurd construction. . . . It is at Bordeaux, unless it be at Agen, that M. Grojean has read . . . *Je t'embrasse ainsi qu'à maman.* But it should be observed, in defense of southern France, that this manner of speech is not peculiar to this locality, since it has been noted by a writer at Brussels, M. Georges Rens (. . . G. O. d'Hervé) in . . . *Parlons bien* (Brussels, 1913). There one reads these sentences collected, says the author, from Belgian conversation: *Personne ne me plaint, à moi; je la suivais, à elle; on ne l'attendait pas, à lui; il nous regardait toujours, à nous.*

The quotations from Diez, Meyer-Lübke, and others, which are given above, bear evidence that the more or less frequent use of the preposition *a* before the direct object has been observed throughout the greater part of the territory occupied by the Romance languages. Its use is most widespread before disjunctive personal pronouns.

In Spanish *a* occurs regularly before an object noun that denotes a definite person or a pronoun other than *que* or the conjunctive personal pronouns, and it is not seldom used before the names of things. In the Spanish of Turkey, the use of *a* before object nouns that denote things seems to be common.

In Portuguese the preposition is used whenever it is needed to avoid ambiguity. The same construction occurs in Catalan, but there it is used less often.

In Italian territory—in Sardinia, Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, the Abruzzi, Rome—the use of *a* before the direct object has been observed. It has been noted also in southwestern France and in Belgium.

Did this use of the preposition *a* have its origin in Spanish (Castilian) and spread thence to other Romance speeches? Portugal and Catalonia are in close proximity to Castile. A large part of Italy has been at times under Spanish political control and Spanish influence. Southwestern France is adjacent to Spain, and Flanders was once a Spanish province.

Or did this use of *a* come into existence in a great part of the Romance territory, and at an early date, as a substitute for the accusative endings, and finally obtain full recognition in Castile while it tended to disappear in other regions?

In France distinctive forms for the nominative and the accusative survived through the twelfth century, and after their disappearance French adopted a word order which is much more rigid than that of Spanish. French, therefore, has not felt the need of the accusative *a*, as have some other Romance dialects. The presence of *a* before the direct object in the speech of southwest France and of a part of Belgium may therefore be due to Spanish influence. But this remains a question, and it is one well worthy of further investigation.

In Italian an accusative *a* would seem to be nearly as useful as in Spanish, but in the former language *a* has not obtained a firm foothold.

In Rumanian the somewhat similar use of *pe* (*pre*) in the accusative may indicate another and distinct effort on the part of a Romance language to find a substitute for the case endings of the Latin accusative.

The whole subject offers a most interesting field for further exploration. Let us hope that the field will be thoroughly explored in the near future.

THE PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING OF *HUÍDO* AND SIMILAR WORDS

The question has been raised and ably discussed by Professor S. Griswold Morley, in the October (1921) number of *Hispania* (pages 187–191), whether *huído, substituído,* etc., should be written with or without the accent mark. Professor Morley holds that the accent is quite out of place.

The problem, however, is not so simple as it might appear at first sight. The written accent on *huído, huída,* etc., would indicate that in these words the *u* and the *i* form separate syllables. This raises at once the question whether *huído,* for instance, is properly pronounced *uido* or *wido*. The poets usually count *huído* as a word of three syllables. To this statement the objection may be raised that we are considering not the usage of poets but the daily speech of the average cultivated man and woman. This is true, but it is also a fact that the language of verse is nearer to normal fluid speech than is the formal and precise language of oratorical prose. For instance, a poet writes:

> "Que mi cantar sonoro
> Acompañó hasta aquí; no aprisionado ..."

In the poem the second line is properly read with only eleven syllables. In the normal fluid speech of every-day life if these words were uttered without self-consciousness on the part of the speaker, they would also form eleven syllables, neither more nor less. Like the poet, the ordinary man would say *acompañó hasta aquí.* On the other hand, in formal emphatic prose an orator might say *acompañó – hasta – aquí* without any synalepha at all. For this and other reasons it seems to me that the usage of poets does to a large degree indicate the normal pronunciation.

Sr. Navarro Tomás, in his *Pronunciación española* (pp.

198–199), gives *"como si extremara la huída,"* which he renders in phonetic script as follows: *"komo sj estremára la͡ úída."* Above the *u* of *úída* there is the same curved line that is used above the *u* of *lo͡ úniko* on page 211. This curved line and the bracket indicate that in *la úída* the first *a* and the *u* form a diphthong, as do the first *o* and the *u* of *lo úniko*. This pronunciation is certainly that of most cultivated Spaniards and Spanish Americans, although in careless speech the *ui* may sometimes become *wi,* especially in such combinations as *substituído.*

It is an interesting fact that, although there are many Spanish words that begin with *ue-* (written *hue-*), there is none that begins with *ua-* (*hua-*), or *uo-* (*huo-*), and only one series that begins with *ui-* (*hui-*), namely *huir* and its derivatives. There are, to be sure, some words of Indian origin that begin with *ua-* (*hua-*), *or ui-* (*hui-*), such as the Chilean *huaso,* but none of these is indigenous to Spain. That is to say, the only Spanish words that begin with *u* plus another vowel are (1) those that begin with *ue-* (*hue-*) and (2) *huir* and its derivatives.

In the case of the words beginning with *ue-*, the *u* is regularly a semi-consonant as in *hueso (weso).* Comparing the sound of this *w* with that of *u* in *causa,* etc., Sr. Navarro Tomás (§ 68) says:

> Los labios se aproximan más entre sí y la lengua se acerca más al velo del paladar, resultando, según predomine la estrechez en uno u otro punto, una *g* labializada o una *b* velarizada: 'ahuecar' – *awekár, agwekár* o *abwekár;* el habla vulgar, en casos de posición inicial absoluta, llega a convertir la estrechez en una verdadera oclusión: 'huevo' – *gwébo* o *bwébo,* etc.

In the words that begin with *ue-*, such as *hueso* (for the *h* is silent), the initial *w* is, then, more or less fricative, or consonantal, and in dialect stories it is not unusual to see

hueso written *güeso*. This spelling is far from accurate, but it is an attempt to express in writing the fricative nature of the initial *w*.

All Spanish words that begin with *ue-* (*hue-*) have this more or less fricative *w*. I say "more or less" because the amount of fricativeness varies with different speakers. There are no words that begin with *ua-* (*hua-*) or *uo-* (*huo-*).

In the consideration of words beginning with *u* plus another vowel, we now have left only *huir* and its derivatives, *huído, huída,* etc. In this group of words, does the initial *u* represent an *u,* or does it represent the more or less fricative *w* of *weso* (*gweso*), etc., which has been described above? Or, to state the question differently and with the terms used by Sr. Navarro Tomás, does *huído* have the "*u* semi-vocal" of *causa, lo único,* etc., or the "*u* semi-consonante" of *weso* (*gweso*), *webo* (*gwebo*), etc.? We have seen in the phonetic script of page 198 that when Sr. Navarro Tomás writes *la huída* he uses the "*u* semi-vocal" of *lo único* and *causa.*

The persistence of an initial *u,* instead of the fricative *w,* in *huído,* etc., may be due, at least in part, to the fact that in the forms *huyo, huyes,* etc., *huya, huyas,* etc., the *u* is stressed. By analogy, the *u* of *huído* would resemble the *u* of *huyo,* while *construyo* would influence *construído,* etc.

The other question to consider is whether the Royal Spanish Academy acted wisely in choosing the accent mark instead of the dieresis to indicate the pronunciation of *huído,* etc. Would it be better to write *hüido?* There may have been two reasons that led the Academy to choose *huído* rather than *hüido.* In the first place, with the present system of Spanish orthography, the dieresis on *u* is generally used only to indicate that *u* is pronounced where otherwise it would be silent, as in *argüir.*

In the second place, the vowels *ui,* in the opinion of the

Academy, are pronounced in three different ways, as in *flúido, cuido* (*kwido*), and *huído*. It is true that in ordinary conversation cultivated Spaniards say *fluído* instead of *flúido* just as they say *periodo* instead of *período*, but the Academy gives official sanction to *flúido* and *período*. Now, shall the three words mentioned above be spelled *flúido, cuido,* and *huído,* or would it be better to write *flúido, cuido,* and *hüido?* Or should we write *huido* without any distinguishing mark whatever? The Academy chose the series *flúido, cuido, huído*. This may not be perfectly logical or entirely consistent. I am not sure in my own mind. But, in any case, the decision has been made by the academicians, and it does not seem to me to be at all bad.

I am quite willing to grant that a written accent on *huir* would make for consistency. The Academy may have thought that in a word of two syllables such as *huir* the written accent was unnecessary, as the second and final syllable ends in a consonant. But if this be true of *huir,* it would seem equally so with regard to *oír*. Perhaps, in the next edition of their dictionary, the academicians may decide to write *huír*. In fact, so good an academician as Don Francisco Rodríguez Marín uses the accent even on *argüír*.[1]

In this connection there is still another point to be considered. I am not convinced that it would be advisable for an American publishing house to print *hüido* or *huido, oscuro, sustituir,* etc., in its textbooks. Some editors might prefer these forms. Other editors would certainly insist on *huído, obscuro, substituir,* etc., in accord with the rules of the Academy, and the result would be that the publishers would use in their textbooks two or more spellings for each of several words. This would cause confusion and would not be good pedagogy.

[1] See his critical edition of *Don Quijote,* Vol. I, page 159, note.

It is generally acknowledged, I believe, that the majority of Spanish-speaking people the world over pronounce *estremo* for *extremo, estraño* for *extraño,* etc. (Sr. Navarro Tomás gives *estremara* for *extremara* on page 199 of his *Pronunciación española.*) Now, if one editor of a textbook should insist on the use of *oscuro, sustituir,* etc., I see no valid reason why another should not with equal right insist on the use of *estremo, estraño,* etc. This spelling might be the more phonetic, but it would lead to confusion in the minds of our students. It would be decidedly better for a publishing house to use in all its books one spelling and one only for each word, and I should favor that sanctioned by the Academy in view of the fact that it is taught in all Spanish schools and in most of the schools of Spanish America.

When we English-speaking people discuss seriously the logic, or the lack of it, in the Academy's spelling of certain words, such as *huído* vs. *huido, obscuro* vs. *oscuro,* etc., I fancy I can see our Spanish friends smiling ironically. It must certainly seem queer to them that we should even take an interest in such matters, when most of us continue to use without the slightest protest such illogical, inconsistent, and unscientific spelling as that of *go, though, mow, sew, hoe,* etc., or *too, to, through, threw, rue,* etc.

NAMES OF THE FRENCH AND SPANISH PARTICIPLES

In French and Spanish grammatical nomenclature, there is no general agreement regarding the names of the participles. In French the forms in *-ant* are called either "participe présent" or "gérondif," and in Spanish the forms in *-ndo* are called either "gerundio" or "participio (de) presente." This confusion is due chiefly to the fact that the participles have been regarded both from the Latin and from the modern points of view and have either kept the Latin terminology or have adopted new names.

With regard to the forms in *-ant* with the function of a verb, and those in *-ndo,* both are derived from the Latin gerund or gerundive. This is self-evident in Spanish, where *amando,* "by loving," has the same form as the Latin ablative gerund, without any change at all. But in French both the Latin present participle in *-ns, -ntis,* and the gerund in *-ndo,* have become *-ant.*[1] There is, however, a difference in function between the derivatives of *-ns, -ntis,* and those of *-ndo.* The former are used as adjectives and agree in gender and number with the nouns they modify, while the latter are used both as present participles and as gerunds, and are invariable in form.

In Spanish also the derivatives of *-ns, -ntis* are used as adjectives and agree in gender and number, while those of *-ndo* are used both as present participles and as gerunds and are invariable; but in Spanish the two derivatives are distinct in form, while in French, through philological causes, this distinction has been lost. Meyer-Lübke says:

> Le participe présent en roman s'est soustrait presque entièrement au système verbal pour passer à l'état de simple adjectif: aussi c'est

[1] See Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes,* II, § 152.

tout au plus s'il peut encore, à proprement parler, en être question dans la conjugaison.[2]

The French form in *-ant* and the Spanish form in *-ndo* are both commonly used as present participles, but both keep also their gerundial force in certain expressions, such as "*(en) disant ceci, il prit la lyre,*" and "*trabajando se gana el pan.*" In French the gerundial force of the verbal form in *-ant* is commoner than is the gerundial force of the Spanish form in *-ndo*. Thus in French one says "*en arrivant . . .*" while in Spanish one uses the infinitive in this gerundial expression: "*al llegar . . .*" And again, the present-participial force of the Spanish form in *-ndo* is commoner than is the present-participial force of the French form in *-ant*. Thus in Spanish one says commonly "*está trabajando*" where the form in *-ndo* is a present participle without any gerundial force. The French form in *-ant* cannot be thus used as a present participle in modern French. For these reasons, if one should wish to give different names to the French and Spanish forms, it would be preferable to call the French form in *-ant* a gerund and the Spanish form in *-ndo* a present participle, but it is still better to give to both one and the same name.

Both the French and the Spanish grammarians, largely as a matter of tradition, use the term "gerund(ive)" rather more commonly than the term "present participle" for these forms. So far as function or force is concerned, the French have a better ground for doing so than have the Spaniards.

In this matter of terminology there are some notable exceptions, such as the Bello-Cuervo Grammar (the best there is in Spanish), where we read on page 71 of the *Notas*:

si en unos casos semeja adverbio por su íntima conexión con el verbo y por su significado de modo, manera, etc., en otros va tan unido con

[2] Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes,* II, § 153.

el substantivo denotando una acción de éste y corresponde tan exactamente al participio activo de otras lenguas, que creo no se le puede negar el nombre de tal.

For the official *Report* of the American Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, of which I was a member, the following recommendation was unanimously adopted:

> The French form in *-ant,* when not preceded by *en,* and the Italian and Spanish forms in *-ndo* are to be classed as present participles rather than as gerunds, since they are not capable of substantive use.[3]

To sum up, it is evident that both the French verbal form in *-ant,* disregarding the adjectival use, and the Spanish form in *-ndo,* have two distinct uses, that of gerund and that of present participle. The use of the Spanish form in *-ndo* as a present participle is much more common than its use as a gerund, and in modern Spanish there is no other present participle with purely verbal force. It seems preferable, therefore, to call the Spanish form in *-ndo* a "present participle" rather than a "gerund," bearing in mind, however, that it may also be used with gerundial—that is, with adverbial—force. In French, the use of the purely verbal *-ant* as a gerund is common. I am not able to say whether or not it is used more often as a gerund than as a present participle, but it seems preferable to call it a "present participle," as there is no other in French, bearing in mind, however, that it has gerundial force in such expressions as *"en lisant,"* etc.

The French participles in *-é, -i,* and *-u* and the Spanish participles in *-ado* and *-ido* are derived from the Latin perfect participle. In both French and Spanish this participle may be used as an adjective if its meaning permits, as in *"Marie est fatiguée," "tenez les portes fermées," "María está muy cansada," "el pobre hombre está muerto."* If this participle

[3] Page 38.

is used with an auxiliary to form a compound tense it may have either one of two functions, that is, it may be a passive participle, as in *"il a été battu," "elle parla d'avoir été blessée," "la casa fué construída por la compañía . . .," "Juan es temido de todos";* or it may be a past participle with little or no passive force, as in *"j'ai acheté plusieurs livres," "Jean est venu ce matin," "hemos estudiado todo el día," "María no ha venido todavía."*

In French, there might be some slight justification for arguing that the participle is passive in *les livres que j'ai achetés," "Marie n'est pas venue,"* on account of the agreement of the participle, although the function of the participle in such expressions is really not passive at all in modern French. But in Spanish, by no stretch of the imagination could anyone call the participle passive in such expressions as *"ha ido," "ha muerto,"* and the participle is really not passive in modern Spanish in such expressions as *"hemos comprado muchos libros,"* or *"los libros que hemos comprado."*

For the reasons given above it seems preferable to use in both French and Spanish—and especially in Spanish—the names *"participe passé,"* and *"participio perfecto"* or *"participio pasado,"* bearing in mind, however, that this verbal form may be used as a passive participle also.

The terminology of the participles involves a problem that is common to other forms of the verb. For instance, such forms as *partirais* and *partiría* also have two distinct functions. These forms have the function of indicative tenses in such expressions as *"il m'a dit qu'il partirait demain," "me dijo que partiría mañana* (the past tenses of *"il me dit qu'il partira demain"* and *"me dice que partirá mañana"*). In other expressions these forms have a conditional—or subjunctive—force, as in the following sentences: *"si je pouvais, je partirais aujourd'hui," "si pudiera, yo partiría hoy."*

This double function raises the question whether *partirais* and *partiría* should have double names, such as "past future indicative—conditional," or "past future indicative—imperfect subjunctive," or whether it is better to choose one of the names, selecting, so far as possible, the name of the commoner of the two functions. There is no question that in advanced courses in French and Spanish syntax both names should be used so as clearly to distinguish the two functions, but in elementary courses it is certainly preferable to choose one name, and one only, for each form of the verb. The Spanish grammarians usually call *partiría* a subjunctive tense. The French grammarians generally avoid the problem of choosing between "indicative" and "subjunctive," by calling *partirais* a separate mood, the *"conditionnel."* Most Spanish-English and French-English grammars published in the United States and England call *partirais* and *partiría* tenses of the indicative mood. The American Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature voted to call these forms "indicative," and there seems to be no valid objection to this choice of names, providing one bears in mind that *partirais* and *partiría* have also functions other than the indicative.

With regard to each of the two participles that were discussed above, there is the same problem of choosing between the names of two distinct functions. In advanced courses both names of each form should be used, according to the function of the form, but in elementary courses it is certainly better to choose one name, and one only, for each form, and the evidence indicates that the functions of "present participle" and "past participle" are the commoner.

HOW MANY WORDS ARE THERE IN SPANISH?

In a leading article of a daily newspaper the statement was recently made that the English language, exclusive of highly technical expressions, has 260,000 words, while German has 80,000 words, Italian 75,000, French 30,000, and Spanish only 20,000. Now, I possess a copy of a relatively small students' Spanish dictionary, which, according to my count, has approximately 70,000 Spanish words. This dictionary contains almost no archaic or rare words, and few highly technical expressions. The statement that Spanish has only 20,000 words is, therefore, inaccurate.

The large unabridged English dictionaries may contain 260,000 words, as they include most words that have been used in the English language since the sixteenth century, a period of four hundred years. A very large proportion of these words are obsolete or obsolescent. It would be interesting to learn how many words would be left if all obsolete words were removed from the unabridged English dictionaries.

But, after all, the number of words that are collected in a dictionary does not throw much light on the number that are actually used. It has been estimated that the man of little education uses from 1,500 to 2,000 words, while the highly educated man, especially if he be a writer, may use from 5,000 to 10,000. This is his active vocabulary. His passive vocabulary would be much larger. By passive vocabulary we mean the words that one uses rarely or never, but the meaning of which one knows more or less accurately when one hears them or sees them. It is a safe guess that the number of words an educated Englishman, North American, Frenchman, German, Italian, Spaniard, or Spanish American uses differ very slightly.

The Spanish language is spread so widely over the surface of the earth and is spoken in so many countries that it has of necessity acquired a vast number of new words to express new ideas or to serve as names of new animals, plants, foodstuffs, etc. One dictionary that I possess has 12,000 such words, which are either new or are old words used in a new sense. In this respect, English and Spanish, as the languages of the two chief colonizing peoples of modern times, have added to their native stock more new words than have any of the other languages of western Europe.

I have been struck repeatedly by the fact that, while one language will have separate words for things that differ only slightly in meaning, another language will have only one word for these same things. Thus, for instance, in Spanish *fire* in general is *fuego,* while an open fire in the grate is *lumbre* or *candela,* and a *fire,* meaning a building on fire, is *incendio.* In the expression *bedroom,* the Spanish for *room* is *habitación, cuarto,* or *alcoba*—these all differ slightly in meaning; in *drawing-room, room* is *sala;* while when one says *eight-room house, room* is *pieza.* Why do the Spaniards feel the need of using so many words to express *fire* or *room,* while English gets along with fewer? I do not know. In other cases, English uses two or more words where Spanish uses only one.

An exact count of the number of spoken words in the active vocabulary of human beings would give most interesting results, but it would be very difficult to make. The number would differ with every individual. As a rule, the more a man has traveled and read and mingled with other people, the larger his active vocabulary will be. A count of the words used by an author in his published writings is not a true index of his active vocabulary, as writers are forever copying words or expressions which they have heard or read but

which may not enter into their active vocabulary at all. Shakespeare is reported to have used the surprisingly large number of fifteen thousand words. I wonder what proportion of these words he could use in conversation—probably not more than half of them—, but this is pure guessing.

When it comes to comparing the number of words in two languages, many almost insuperable difficulties appear. Shall we omit all obsolete words, and if we do, which words are obsolete? A word may be obsolete in one part of the country and in common use in another part, as, for instance, the word *pail,* which is obsolete in some of our southeastern states. Shall each of certain words be counted as one word or as more than one word? A *sucker* is one who sucks. A shoot from the lower part of a plant, which sucks up the plant's sap, is called a *sucker.* In the United States, one who is easily duped is often spoken of as a *sucker.* There is a certain species of fish that sucks—or is supposed to suck—its food from the bottom of the water, and which is therefore very properly called a *sucker.* And the people of Illinois—whether they are fond of these suckers or not, I do not know—are called *Suckers.* Now, shall we count *sucker* as one word or as five? Both phonetically and etymologically it is one word, but if we should translate it into Spanish, we should certainly have to use five separate words. These are only a few of the complications that appear when one undertakes to make an accurate study of the number of words in use in a given language or to compare the number of words in each of two languages. Just how many words are used in English and Spanish no one knows, but I am of the opinion that the number used in the two languages does not differ greatly.

NEW WORDS IN CALIFORNIA

In Michel Bréal's *Essai de sémantique*[1] there is a chapter on "irradiation" in which the author mentions the fact that some word endings have come rather accidentally to denote certain ideas, and their use has then become more or less general. Thus, he holds that the fact that the Latin verbs, *adolesco, floresco, senesco,* etc., denoted a slow, progressive action, led to the use of the verbal ending *-sco* in a series of verbs with inchoative meaning, although *-sco* in itself never meant anything of the sort.

Similarly the Latin words *patraster* and *filiaster* came to have a depreciative meaning, and the ending *-aster,* or its derivatives, assumed the force of a depreciative suffix. Thus in French one finds *marâtre, bellâtre, douceâtre,* etc.

There are today in California several interesting examples of "irradiation." Everyone knows by this time that a cafeteria is a "help-yourself" restaurant. Apparently in the popular mind the ending *-teria* or *-eteria* has come to indicate just such a process. I have noticed recently in California the following names on signs: "grocerteria," a place where groceries are temptingly displayed on tables and counters, and one helps himself to those he wants, and pays for them as he passes out; "marketeria," a self-help market; "shaveteria," a place where all the things that are needed for shaving, such as razors, sterilized brushes, hot water, small cakes of soap, towels, etc., are placed within easy reach, and one helps himself and pays for the privilege; "cleaneteria," a place where hot water, soap, cleaning fluids, brushes, towels, etc., are within easy reach and one may enter and clean one's own clothes; "shoeteria," a place where one may examine the stock of shoes and select a pair to his liking; "fruiteria,"

[1] Fifth edition, Paris, Hachette, 1921.

"chocolateria," and "basketeria," places where fruits, chocolates, and baskets, respectively, are for sale; and "healtheteria," presumably a place where one may help himself to good health.

Another series of new words—or, at any rate, they are new to me—has made use of the good old ending *-ery* of grocery, bakery, etc., thus: "cakery," "doughnutery," "beanery," "lunchery," "bootery," and "car washery." In these places you may buy cakes, doughnuts, beans, food for lunches, boots, etc., or you may have your car washed.

The syllables *-atorium* of sanatorium appear in "healthatorium," and in "restatorium." I have not yet found in California a "pantatorium," a place where masculine garments are cleaned and pressed, but there are some in Colorado and I suspect that the name is used here too.

This process of "irradiation" seems in most cases perfectly legitimate, as it is one of analogy. The word cafeteria is now well established. I believe I should prefer "self-help market" to "marketeria," but what else would one call a "shaveteria"?—a "self-shaving establishment" or a "place where one may shave himself"?

Some of these new words will doubtless pass out of use, but others will stick. In California there is a notable lack of servants and self-help is common. To meet this need, institutions such as cafeterias have come into existence. But no diner really likes to walk across a room with a large tray in his hands, and sooner or later the custom will probably fall into disuse. When it does, the name of cafeteria will disappear too or will take on a new meaning.

IRRADIATION OF CERTAIN SUFFIXES

In *Modern Language Notes*,[1] I published a short list of "New Words in California." The list showed how certain popular suffixes have become established in the language, and have "irradiated" themselves, to use a term employed by the French philologist Bréal. In the few years since the article was published the words it enumerated have gained rather than lost ground and many new words of the same type have appeared, until the list needs to be made anew. It stands at present as follows:

THE PROGENY OF "CAFETERIA"

Basketeria, a place where baskets are for sale.

Bobateria, a place where hair is bobbed.

Chocolateria, a place where chocolates are for sale.

Cleaneteria, a place where hot water, soap, cleaning fluids, brushes, towels, etc., are within easy reach, and one may enter and clean his own clothes.

Fruiteria, a place where fruits are for sale.

Grocerteria, groceteria, groceryteria, a place where groceries are temptingly displayed on tables and counters, and one helps himself to those he wants and pays for them as he passes out.

Hatateria, a hat store.

Healtheteria, presumably a place where one may help himself to good health.

Kalfateria, a name once seen for a shoe shop.

Luncheteria, a lunch-room where one may see and choose the food.

Marketeria, a self-help market.

Mototeria, a grocerteria on wheels. Used also in the East.

Restauranteria, same meaning as *cafeteria.*

Resteteria, presumably a place for rest and recuperation.

Shaveteria, a place where all the things that are needed for shaving, such as razors, sterilized brushes, hot water, small cakes of soap, towels, etc., are placed within easy reach, and one helps himself and pays for the privilege.

[1] Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, March, 1923.

Sodateria, a place where soft drinks are sold.
Wrecketeria, a place where old cars are wrecked and the parts sold.
Valeteria, a place where clothes are cleaned and pressed.

WORDS DERIVING FROM "SANATORIUM"

Barbatorium, a barber shop.
Bobatorium, a place where hair is bobbed.
Healthatorium, synonym for *sanatorium.*
Infantorium, a sanatorium for infants.
Hatatorium, a place where hats are cleaned and blocked.
Kanditorium, a confectionery shop.
Motortorium, an automobile repair shop.
Pantorium, also *Pantatorium,* a place where masculine garments are cleaned and pressed.
Pastorium. An article in the *Literary Digest* of the date March 4, 1925, mentions the use of *pastorium* as the equivalent of parsonage in some Southeastern states. I have not noted it in California.
Printorium, a print shop.
Restatorium, also *Restorium,* a place where one may rest for the benefit of his health.
Shavatorium, a barber shop.
Suitatorium, a place where suits are cleaned and pressed.

WORDS BUILT ON "BAKERY," "GROCERY," ETC.

Beanery, a place where beans are sold. Used in Boston also.
Bootery, Booterie, a place where boots are sold. Use widespread.
Cakery, a place where cakes are sold.
Car Washery, a place where automobiles are washed.
Doughnutery, a place where doughnuts are sold.
Lunchery, a place where lunches are sold.
Mendery, a place where furniture is mended.
Stitchery, a place where clothes are mended.
Hashery, eatery, drinkery, boozery, are humorists' terms for eating-places and places where alcoholic drinks are to be had. I have never seen them on signs or in advertisements.

Of these suffixes, that of *cafeteria* is the most recent to establish itself. In California servants are not easily had

and self-help is common. Everyone knows by this time that a *cafeteria* is a "help yourself" restaurant. The suffix *-teria* or *-eteria* has come to indicate, in most instances, the self-help process. The ending of *cafeteria* resembles Spanish *-ería,* but, on our Western coast, *cafeteria* is usually stressed on the second *e* (cafetéria). The Latin suffix of *sanatorium, natatorium,* etc., has long been familiar in learned or literary use, although it remained for our present period to popularize it. The suffix *-ery* of *nunnery, nursery, fishery,* etc., came from the French into Middle English, and has been staple in the formation of place words for centuries.

"CREOLE" AND "WEST INDIES"

The *San Francisco Chronicle* of November 1, 1926, contained several statements made by correspondents regarding the origin and meaning of the term "Creole" as used in the United States. A perusal of these statements brought to my attention the fact that both "Creole" and "West Indies" have developed especial meanings in American English. In two of the articles the statement was made that people, animals, and plants were called Creole when they originated in Europe but were bred and reared in the West Indies. Now, this statement is true only in case the term "West Indies" is used with the meaning of the Spanish "Indias Occidentales," which include all of the Americas—North, Central, and South—as distinguished from the "Indias Orientales." But in the United States the term "West Indies" refers usually only to the Antilles—Cuba, Haiti, Porto Rico, *et al.*

The word Creole has become restricted in meaning in this country so that it refers only to the French-speaking people of Louisiana. In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies it referred to any person, animal, or plant of European stock that was born or grown in any part of the Americas. The origin of the word is not altogether clear. Some authorities, as for instance the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* state that Creole is a corruption of the Spanish word *criadillo.* This is doubtful. *Criadillo,* with the accent on the second *i,* would scarcely give *criollo* as an abbreviated form. Meyer-Lübke, in his Romance etymological dictionary, expresses the opinion that the word is probably of Portuguese origin, and passed from Portuguese to Spanish. This seems likely as, according to the Portuguese dictionaries, the term *criollo* was and still is used in some parts of Portugal to denote animals raised at home as distinguished from those that are imported.

Lope de Vega, *Amar sin Saber a Quién.* Edited with notes and vocabulary by MILTON A. BUCHANAN and BERNARD FRANZEN-SWEDELIUS. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1920. vii + 202 pp.

This well-known *comedia* by Lope de Vega is quite worthy of a new critical edition, and especially of one with notes and vocabulary in English. The editors' choice of a play was felicitous, and their notes are excellent.

The play does not have an introduction, and in the Preface, which is short, the editors do not attempt to give a study of Lope's life and works. The statement on page iv that "the contents of the two editions" (Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630, and Madrid, 1635) "are almost wholly different" refers to the plays that are contained in the two volumes, and not to the texts of *Amar sin saber a quién.* Only two plays are common to both volumes and our play is one of them.

To the references in the Preface may be added one to d'Ouville, *Aimer sans savoir qui,* Paris, 1645.

It would be well, it seems to me, if our editors of Spanish plays would include in their critical editions a brief summary of the main action and a short description of the chief characters. M. Viguier has given succinctly a just appreciation of our play in *Œuvres de P. Corneille,* Grands Ecrivains de la France (Paris, Hachette, 1862), IV, 392 f.

A "partial vocabulary" is given at the end, and, like all such vocabularies, it may be criticized on the ground that some common words are given while some unusual words are omitted.

The following is a list of suggested additions to, or changes in, the *Notes.*

4, note. "*decillo* = *decirlo,* an example of assimilation."

If the *r* of the infinitive was assimilated to the *l* of the enclitic pronoun, the assimilation must have taken place before the change of double *l* to palatal *l* was completed, but this change seems not to have been ancient.[1] Certainly in Lope's works *ll* does not represent two *l*'s. In this edition *-allo, -alla,* etc., occur in verse endings five times, and each time in a rhyme-word (vv. 4, 22, 1012, 2351, 2766). The forms *-arlo, -arla,* etc., are used eight times in verse endings, but only one (in v. 1335) is in rhyme. In modernizing the spelling Mr. Buchanan has changed *-allo, -alla,* etc., to *-arlo, -arla,* etc., wherever the rhyme permitted, and he has also changed *-ld-* to *-dl-* in imperatives.

5. *vos* was equivalent to the modern *vosotros* only when *vos* was plural. As a form of courteous address *vos* was also singular. By the beginning of the seventeenth century *vos* was not seldom a term of disrespect, or at least of condescension. Cf. Juan de Luna, *Diálogos familiares* (Paris, 1619), *diálogo* I: *"Vos* se dice a los criados o vasallos. *Vuesasté, vuesa merced, vuestra merced,* ... se da a todos, grandes y pequeños."

7. *lengua.* Is it not the meaning that 'steel' is the 'tongue' with which people in Toledo answer insults?

36. *Espiró* should be *Expiró,* if, as stated on page 132, "the spelling has been modernized." Note also vv. 293, 1025.

45. *criado* has regularly three syllables, by analogy with *crío.* Cf. vv. 69, 433, and also *crianza,* vv. 1052, 2391. See F. Robles Dégano, *Ortología clásica de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1905), § 239.

50. *sobre = además de.*

53. Sometimes in the text the arrangement of a broken verse, or of a verse too long to be given in one line, is unfor-

[1] Cf. F. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana,* Halle, 1913, § 126.

tunate. Thus, the position of the words is such that it is difficult to tell at first sight which are the rhyme-words in vv. 53, 66, 68, 2175–2177, *et al.* Verse 66, for instance, would be better if arranged thus:

Alguacil. Muestre la espada.
Don Juan. Hidalgos, poco a poco.

This is doubtless the fault of the printer.

69. *aqueste* is used to give the requisite number of syllables. It is a matter of meter rather than of rhythm.

72. *mudado el calendario.* Can this refer to the change in the calendar, which was made in the Roman Catholic countries when Lope was twenty years old, but which had not yet been adopted by the countries where the Protestant and Greek churches prevailed? If one did not know, or if one forgot, that the calendar had been changed, he would be ten days late.

Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, in a recent letter to Professor Buchanan, suggests the following interpretation: "Traigo una mula que parece dromedario (por lo grande) y que a fuerza de repetidos golpes (sonsonetes) me ha traído despellejado (mudado la piel) el colisco" (see note to vv. 2788–2795).

Professor Rudolph Schevill offers as a free rendering of the passage: "I have come with a mule sprung from a dromedary which by its monotonous pace has made me fail to see the passing of time."

98, note. Mr. C. E. Anibal, of Indiana University, has evidence which leads him to believe that *No hay dicha ni desdicha hasta la muerte* is by Mira de Amescua. Mr. Anibal's material will be published later.

108 f. It is difficult to compare our standard shades of color with those of Spain in the seventeenth century. For instance, *purpúreo* ("color roxa escura," Cobarruvias, 1611)

is often rendered by 'purple,' even *labios purpúreos* being sometimes translated 'purple lips'! *Verde obscuro* denoted blighted hope; *blanco,* purity and faith (see also commentaries to Dante, *Purg.,* XXIX); and *morado* denoted true love. The *Diccionario de Autoridades,* IV (1734), defines *morado* as "De color de mora, que es mezcla de roxo y negro." Speaking of the *mora,* it says: "su zumo es de color de sangre, y tiñe como ella." Dark red was the color of love, whether *purpúreo* (cf. v. 1922; Dante uses *porpora: Purg.,* XXIX, 131) or *morado.* Bright red (*rojo claro*) denoted the flush of shame. The common use of *morado* to denote true love may have been in part due, in Spain, to the fact that the *moral* symbolized that which was slow to flower but was ever faithful. See Cobarruvias, under *almendra.*

135. Hiatus between *de* and *amores* is impossible, as neither *de* nor *a-* is stressed. The line has eight syllables by reading *Leo-* as of two syllables, or by inserting *ay* and reading *Leo-* as of one syllable. If two strong vowels precede the stress, they may form a diphthong or they may be dissyllabic, usually at the option of the poet. But Lope prefers Le͡onarda: see vv. 174, 175, 189.

145. *me ocasionas = me riñes.*

160, note. "Mme. d'Aunoy": The usual spelling is "Aulnoy."

185. *retrata* is better: "the eyes are the mirror which reflects thought."

202–324, note. "*Relaciones* . . . . are obviously undramatic, and were severely criticized by the neo-classic critics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." But *relaciones* were regularly used by the neo-classicists to avoid violent action on the stage.

311. *ahora,* in verse, may count as three syllables, as *a* and *o* are both strong vowels, and *o* is stressed. Syneresis, nev-

ertheless, is rather frequent, except at end of the line (see Robles, § 269).

433. *Cierto* may take the indefinite article. Cuervo (*Dic. de constr. y rég.*) says: "(cierto) se acompaña a menudo con el (artículo) indefinido ... para dar a entender que se trata de cualidad o circunstancia muy peculiar del objeto." Numerous examples are given.

546. *Dueño* is still regularly used in this sense. "El que tiene el dominio. ... En este sentido suele llamarse así también a la mujer; y siempre en los requiebros amorosos, diciendo dueño mío, y no dueña mía" (*Dicc. Acad.*). *Dueña* has quite a different meaning. Even Cobarruvias (1611) says that "dueña ... agora significa comunmente las que sirven con tocas largas y mongiles a diferençia de las donzellas."

559, note: *manteo,* 'skirt.' Would not 'cassock' be a better rendering? Cobarruvias (1611), under *manto,* says: "llamamos manteo la cobertura del Clerigo que le abriga de pies a cabeça. ..."

565. *Alfaques.* Cobarruvias (1611) defines: "isleta en la costa del Reyno de Valencia. Ay en Africa una ciudad maritima que antiguamente se dixo Ruspe, y agora la llaman Alfaques."

566. *ve,* a misprint for *de.*

579–582. When the lamb becomes a ram, it has horns. Cf. *Diccionario de Autoridades:* "Poner los cuernos. Faltar, o hacer faltar a la fe del matrimonio."

623. The grammar (1917) of the Spanish Academy gives "hemos o habemos."

646. Dark eyes, with a glint of green, have long been admired in Spain; but blue eyes seem not to have been esteemed. In Lope's *Dorotea* (II, 6) Gerarda, expressing contempt of people who eat sweets, says: "en viendo un hombre que come cascos de naranja, le miro si tiene los ojos azules."

651, note: *versos graves.* See also page 131. I find no authority for this use of *verso grave* to denote only an 11-syllable line. A verse-line that ends with an unstressed syllable is *grave* or *llano,* whatever the number of syllables may be.

657. The reading that has been adopted appears defective, as the verses—from 651 to 666—seem to be in *octavas reales* (rhyme: *abababcc*). Verse 660 is not found in Hartzenbusch's edition. I have not A at hand. The reading of B and C,

> me ha de sacar de la prisión remedio
> que de todo mi mal se pone en medio

properly closes the first octave. The second octave begins with v. 658 (v. 660 is omitted). There are then two standard *octavas reales.* For this reason the text of B and C seems preferable to that of A.

682. C has *esté.* The indicative after *holgar* is unusual. See vv. 2094–2095.

686. The old *décima* consisted of two *quintillas* logically connected. There are many of these in the *Cancionero de Stúñiga.* The *décima* known as *espinela,* which is the one we have in our text, has a fixed rhyme-scheme (*abbaaccddc*), with a pause, usually but not always, after the fourth line—but no pause after the fifth—to indicate that the *décima* is not two *quintillas.* Cf. Lope, *Laurel de Apolo,* and *La Dorotea* (I, 8); *Revue hispanique,* XLI, 219 f.; *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* 1918, pp. 289 f. (article by A. M. Espinosa). In v. 1405 (not 1406) there should be a comma, or a dash, after *espada.* There is a slight pause.

789. *la* seems to refer to *disculpa:* "who gives offense by making love, what excuse will he give for his boldness? For if love gives an excuse to everybody, and I offend you with love, I shall scarcely be able to give the offense as an excuse."

797. *doscientos escudos de veneno,* 'two hundred crowns worth of poison.' There does not seem to be a pun on *escudilla.*

806. The line seems to be too long, as *fía* is regularly dissyllabic: syneresis is rare.

814. The *décima* (*espinela*) is highly lyric, and is used to express emotion, as here.

821. The line is short by one syllable. C has *aqueste,* instead of *este,* which gives the requisite number of syllables.

836. *Miraba,* 'I thought.'

843. Lope, *Corona trágica,* f. 2, uses "pecho católico diamante."

938. *No paséis de ahí,* "Don't go any farther."

941. *manifesto* should be *manifiesto.*

1075. *Yo por su guarda voy,* 'I'll act as his guard.'

1128–1129, note. Observe also how frequently Molière used foreign languages and dialects in his plays.

1168–1169 are spoken by Limón.

1098 and 1201. There seem to be two ways of emending the text:

Señora ¡quién la escuchara ... !
Perdonad si me turbara;

or,

¡Dichoso quien la escuchare ... !
Perdonad si me turbare.

Either one would be grammatically and logically correct. *¡Quién la escuchare ...!* as an exclamation is impossible. See v. 930. *Perdonad si me turbara* makes good sense, as the verb forms in *-ara, -iera,* in the works of Lope, Cervantes, *et al.,* may be either imperfect or pluperfect. Cf. *detuviera,* v. 1405; *viera,* v. 2573; *supiera,* v. 2595; *dijeras,* v. 3052—all used with the force of a pluperfect.

1205. The text of A, B, and C seems in every way prefer-

able. It is not likely that Don Juan would call the lady *reina:* he regularly uses *señora.* On the other hand, Limón is fond of *reina:* cf. vv. 512, 609.

1314. Hiatus between *dueño* and *estoy* is here quite impossible.

1321. *en pena,* 'in its torment.'

1339–1343. These lines are difficult of interpretation. At least once Lope has used *rostro* to mean 'mask'; as in the following lines to which Mr. C. E. Anibal has called my attention:

> Teodoro ... :
> ¿Por qué me infamas ansí?
> Quita, Aurelio, el rostro, quita
> la máscara; di a la Reina
> cuál hombre, después que reina,
> más su vida solicita.[2]

Both Teodoro and Aurelio have entered masked, the former only having removed his mask. Does the passage in our text mean: "Be sure that my heart, which I strive to give you, is laying aside its cloak, while its mask (disguise) rightly grants more liberty—or hand—than the liberty—or hand—which I have given you," or does *rostro* here mean 'face'?

1379–1381. Is not Limón afraid of falling while attempting to scale the brick wall of a house (cf. vv. 1370–1377)? The Countess d'Aulnoy, in her description of Toledo, says: "... fuimos a la plaza mayor, que se llama Zocodover. Las casas que la circundan son de ladrillo y todas análogas con balcones" (D'Aulnoy, *Viaje por España*—en 1679—*versión castellana,* Madrid, 1891, p. 231). Note also the following description of Madrid: "Toutes ces maisons y sont de brique, hormis le palais du roi, dont néantmoins la façade seule est

[2] *Arminda Celosa,* I, 2, p. 694; *Obras de Lope de Vega* pub'icadas por la Real Acad. Esp. Nueva ed., *Obras dramáticas,* I.

de pierre, les trois autres costez n'estant que de brique" (François Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*—en 1659—*Revue hispanique,* XLVII, 43).

1418. *desengaño,* 'disillusionment, disappointment.'

1419. *lo = muerto.*

1442. The use of interrogative *cuál,* instead of *qué,* as an adjective, was not unusual then, but is now rare in standard Spanish.

1451. There is much conceptism in the preceding lines.

1490. *Esto,* 'This fact' (subject of *resiste*).

1529. *lo hilvanan,* 'they baste it together,' or 'they sew it together.' 'To baste' a fowl is quite different (cf. Voc.).

1541. *órgano:* the *Diccionario de Autoridades* describes an *órgano,* which was a mechanism used in taverns to cool beverages. Professor Buchanan has called my attention to the use of *órgano* in the sense of 'chorus,' or 'medley of voices,' as in *un órgano ... de niños,* and *un órgano de gatos.*

1611. *cosan* is better.

1612. The line is too long by one syllable. With *bodego,* which Hartzenbusch uses, the line is metrically correct. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* gives *bodego,* "lo mismo que bodegón. Es voz festiva e inventada," and quotes Quevedo.

1648. *Ha de ... ,* or *ah de ... ,* is an exclamation used to call attention to the speaker. Thus:

> *Don Juan.* (*Ap.* Llegad y hablad, lengua muda.)
> ¡Ah de arriba!
> *Doña Inés.* ¿Sois don Gil?[3]
>
> *Arriero Segundo.* ¡Ah del coche! ¿dónde bueno?[4]

1690. The meter requires *a* instead of *por,* as hiatus is usual when the initial vowel of the second word bears the

[3] Tirso de Molina, *Don Gil de las calzas verdes,* III, 12.

[4] Alarcón, *Las paredes oyen,* II, 14.

rhythmic accent at the end of the line, as here. Cf. vv. 2541, 2251.

1725. *celos.* Note that Fernando has *celos* of the man who is making love to his sister. Here *celos* is "sospecha o temor" (*Diccionario de Autoridades*).

ruido should be *rüido.*

1731. Mothers seldom appear in the older plays of France or Italy either, unless it be in some noble tragedy (as in the *Andromaque* of Racine). Molière rarely presents a mother. Playwrights instinctively, and very wisely, avoid making fun of mothers or dragging them into commonplace affairs.

1748. Note the negative force of *¿hele visto yo ...?*

1751. *despertar tu olvido,* 'remind you of an incident that you should forget.'

1802. *letuario = electuario,* "género de confeccion medicinal ... de que hay varias especies purgantes, adstringentes o cordiales" (*Dicc. Aut.*). A bit of *letuario cordial* in the early morning was much esteemed by workmen:

> Al madrugar,
> almorzaba de ordinario
> una lonja de lo añejo (jamón)
> porque era cristiano viejo;
> y con este letuario,
> aqua vitis, que es de vid,
> visitaba sin trabajo
> calle arriba, calle abajo,
> los egrotos de Madrid.[5]

In *Porfiar hasta morir* (II, 14), Lope speaks of "letuario y aguardiente."

1817. *agradecido,* "que agradece" (*Dicc. Acad.*).

1851. *noche* seems to be the subject of *huya.* It is the 'night,' and not the 'dawn,' that silently flees toward the west in the early morning.

[5] Tirso de Molina, *Don Gil de las calzas verdes,* I, 2.

1922. *púrpura,* "color rojo subido" (*Dicc. Acad.*). It certainly does not mean *sangre* here.

1955. With *Es, Luis* is of one syllable; without it, *Luis* is dissyllabic. Robles (p. 262) states that in Tirso he found eighty-eight cases of dieresis to forty-two of syneresis, but today *Luis* is usually of one syllable, and it seems usually to be so in this play. Cf. vv. 1820, 2559, etc.

1994. Hartzenbusch does not give *lo.* According to all the rules of the game, there should be hiatus between *desde* and *hoy,* and with *lo* the line would then be too long.

2033. *os arrugasteis,* 'you rode hard' (crouching in the saddle). In Rojas' comedy, *Del rey abajo ninguno* (v. 779), *arrugar* seems to mean *robar.*

2083. *cristalina doncella.* Lope is fond of using *cristal* and *cristalino.* He uses these words at least five times in *Porfiar hasta morir,* and several times in the *Laurel de Apolo.* They usually refer to the water, white with foam, of the sea or of a brook or fountain. They may refer to silver, or even to white teeth, as in

> Cuando Dios no fabricara
> púrpura y cristal de roca,
> naturaleza en su boca
> cristal y púrpura hallara.[6]

In the following passage, *cristal* is used to describe the fair hands of a beautiful woman:

> ¡Ay! ¡quién fuera tan dichoso
> que de aquella mano bella,
> de aquel cristal, de aquel nácar,
> ese favor recibiera![7]

2153. *paz de Castilla: paz* may here mean 'kiss,' a com-

[6] *Porfiar hasta morir,* II, 11.

[7] *Porfiar hasta morir,* III, 7.

mon meaning of the word in certain expressions such as "dar paz" (*Cantar de mío Cid,* v. 3385), "la paz de Judas" (Vallés, *Libro de refranes,* cf. L), "paz de gallego, tenla por agüero" (Correas, *Vocabulario de refranes,* etc., p. 385) ; but, like Professor Buchanan, I must confess that there probably lurks an allusion that escapes me.

2203. *aún* should be *aun.*

2283. Latin *facies* (f.), 'face,' has given modern *haz* or *faz,* both feminine. Latin *fascis* (m.), 'bundle, sheaf,' has given modern *haz* (m.) ; while from Latin *acies* (f.), 'line of battle, troops in battle array,' has come modern *haz* (m.). In the *Cantar de mío Cid, az* (from *acies*) is usually feminine, but at least once it is masculine (v. 711). *Faz* (from *fascis)* seems not to occur in the *Cid.* Latin *fascis* and modern Spanish *haz,* 'bundle, sheaf,' are both masculine, and I find no authority for believing this word ever to have been feminine. *Los haces* would therefore seem a better reading in our text.

2288–2289. Note in the midst of this romance verse, with *ó-o* assonance, the interjection of two eleven-syllable lines. Is this a quotation?

2301, note. The *ne* should be *ve.*

2331. *Hacer* is often followed by the subjunctive.

2342. The line is too long. *En él* would make the line of the right length.

2480–2483. 'Don Luis, because his past acts (of kindness toward me) bid me to put his hope in your possession. . . .'

2645. *no hay una,* in verse, always counts as three syllables. Cf. vv. 2704, 2782.

2687. "because of" seems superfluous in the translation.

2908–2911. Mr. C. E. Anibal has called my attention to the following lines in Tirso de Molina, *El burlador de Sevilla,* I:

y en vuestro divino oriente
renazco, y no hay que espantar
pues veis hay de mar a amar
una letra solamente.

3005. *¿qué tiene más?* = *¿qué más da?*

The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega, together with La dama boba. Edited, from an autograph in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, with notes by RUDOLPH SCHEVILL. [University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 6, pp. 1–340.] Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918. vi + 340 pp.

All Hispanists are greatly indebted to Professor Schevill for his excellent edition of the original text of *La dama boba,* with its masterly introduction. In fact, Professor Schevill's account of the dramatic art of Lope de Vega is the most stimulating that I have read for many a day and, by the way, his definitions of *conceptismo* and *culto* or *culteranismo* (pages 49–50) are among the best I know.

With Professor Schevill's earnest plea that "a readable working edition of the *comedias*" of Lope be made available, all must agree. He urges that the best plays be carefully chosen and published in "thirty or forty small volumes, each containing at the most three plays, carefully reprinted." What a boon to Hispanic studies this would be! All French plays by the great dramatists of the seventeenth century are available in scholarly editions, but for the most part this work is still to be done for the Spanish *comedias* of the Golden Age. There are few critical editions of the *comedias,* and in these editions numerous linguistic and literary problems still remain to be solved. This dearth of good texts may make the *comedias* a fascinating field for the investigator,

but for the average student it makes them unduly difficult of comprehension.

Professor Schevill stresses the fact that Lope's *comedias* do not give an accurate description of contemporary life in Spain, but are largely colored by literary inheritance and tradition. In this respect it is interesting to compare Lope's plays with the comedies of Molière, and to note how both writers draw freely from traditional sources. Thus, in the works of both, the young gallant is accompanied by his servant, and the heroine by her attendant; there is much parallelism where the servants imitate the actions and even the words of their masters; only rarely is a mother brought into a play; and occasionally there is a wandering maiden disguised as a man. In these dramatic devices Molière has probably not imitated Lope, but both are using traditional material. Both writers, furthermore, champion the democratic spirit of the middle classes, and Lope, too, does not hesitate to make fun of the marquis.[8]

Professor Schevill gives in the body of his book a reprint of the autograph copy of *La dama boba* which now rests in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. In the Introduction he gives the variants of the first printed edition, that of Madrid, 1617. The latter, according to Professor Schevill, seems to have been taken from "a fairly acceptable prompter's copy," which Lope, "in a letter to the Duke of Sessa, date [?] 1617," says that he signed. The variants are many, there being in all about eight hundred. Some of them may be due to printer's errors, but I assume that most of them were made deliberately by actors or managers, or by Lope himself.

It would be interesting to examine carefully all these

[8] Cf. *El bobo del colegio*, I, iii.

variants and determine so far as is possible why they were made. After comparing them rather cursorily with Lope's original text, it has seemed to me that in the majority of cases the variants are superior to the original copy. By "superior" I mean that the revised text would satisfy both the actors and the audience to a greater degree. It would "act" better on the stage.

Some of the variants seem to be required, as (the variant is given in parenthesis): "que Nise ha dicho a mi," v. 2533 ("que Nise me ha dicho a mi"), where the original line lacked one syllable; "teneysme," v. 3005 ("tienesme"), where Otabio is using *tú;* "oye," v. 3013 ("oyd"), where Miseno uses *vos;* etc.

In some variants the meaning is clearer or more appropriate: "¿Que te dize?" v. 2613 ("Que te parece");

> Y pues hablo claramente,
> hasta mañana a estas oras
> te doy para que lo pienses,
> porque de no te cassar,
> para que en tu vida entres,
> (quiero que en tu vida entres)
> por las puertas de mi cassa
> que tan enfadada tienes,
> haz cuenta que eres poeta, vv. 2910–2917;
>
> ¿Es coxa o manca Finea?
> ¿Es çiega? vv. 2903–2904;
> (. . . es tuerta?).

In other variants the expression is less awkward:

> Escucha—ya escucho atento, v. 2498;
> (Escucha—ya estoy atento);
>
> ¿como no veys que en el çielo
> cada mes ay nuebas lunas, vv. 2540–2541;
> (...ay luna nueua),

me deys a mi esposa a mi, v. 2778;
(me deys mi muger a mi);

Yd, por Dios, tras el los dos, v. 2803;
(Yd los dos tras el por Dios).

Of the last 246 lines of the original text fifty-six have been omitted from the printed copy, and forty-six other lines have been reduced to five, making a total elimination of ninety-seven lines. These omissions, for the most part, seem to me justifiable, for without them the play drags at the end where a quick and sudden dénouement was the fashion. Lope has said in the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias:*

Pero la solución no la permita,
hasta que llegue la postrera escena;
porque en sabiendo el vulgo el fin que tiene,
vuelve el rostro a la puerta, y las espaldas
al que esperó tres horas cara a cara;
que no hay más que saber que en lo que para.

The few variants given above were chosen almost at random from the last lines of the play. Nowhere do the variants alter to any considerable degree the basic material: they indicate usually a choice of words, and only rarely is the action modified at all.

When there exists an autograph copy of a play, written probably in haste by a great dramatist of a past age, and beside it a printed edition of a copy which we may assume to have been worked over by the actors until it suited their taste or that of the public before whom they performed it, there arises a curious problem. Which text has the greater value? If we desire to study the author and his works, the original text is the only one we need to consider seriously. But if we wish to know what dramatic material was popular at that time, an actor's or prompter's version is of the greatest importance.

In the case of the 1617 printed edition of *La dama boba,* the matter is complicated by the fact that Lope signed—or at least declares he signed—the copy that went to the printer. May he not himself have made or approved the variants after he had seen the play on the stage or perhaps after he had been present at several rehearsals?

These remarks do not in any way detract from the great service that Professor Schevill has rendered by giving us an edition of Lope's manuscript copy of *La dama boba.* We must have the original texts whenever it is possible to secure them, but I am convinced that further light can be thrown on the Spanish drama of the period by a careful comparison of original copies with those that were worked over by the actors or by the author and the actors jointly. Some linguistic data might also be obtained.

In the older printed editions it is usually impossible to ascertain the forms of words that the author actually used, since the printers were given to spelling words as they thought best. It may, therefore, be of interest to note how, in the autograph copy of *La dama boba,* Lope uses certain doublets (*así* and *ansí, ahora* and *agora,* etc.), and also *-ll-* for *-rl-* when the infinitive is followed by a personal pronoun beginning with *l* (*quitalla* for *quitarla,* etc.).

An examination of Professor Schevill's edition shows that *agora* is used twenty-six times; *a(h)ora,* three times. *A(h)ora* counts as two syllables; it is not found at the end of a line.

Así is used sixteen times; *ansí,* eight times. Lope prefers *ansí* at the end of a line (five times) or hemistich (twice). Only once (v. 2421) does *ansí* occur in an unstressed position. On the other hand, *así* occurs only once at the end of a line: "¡Linda bestia!—Assi, assi!" (v. 333). Here the variant gives: "Assi, si, si."

Mismo is used seven times; *mesmo,* not at all.

Twice Lope uses *-ld-* for *-dl-* in imperatives: *"dalde"* (v. 1618), *"cassalda"* (v. 2135). The first of these is omitted in the variant. I find in this play no use of *-dl-*.

Of verbal forms that retain the archaic *d,* there are six: *"dixerades"* (vv. 119, 223), *"truxerades"* (v. 517), *"pudierades"* (v. 2100), *"erades"* (v. 2535), *"mostrassedes"* (v. 2555). It is worthy of note that all but one end in *-rades.* Moreover, all but one are past subjunctives, and I find only one past subjunctive, second person plural, that does not have the *d,* namely *"pudierays"* (v. 939). Forms of the second person plural without *d* abound in other tenses, such as *"veys," "hareys,"* etc.

In infinitives, *-rl-* occurs thirty-seven times; *-ll-,* fifteen times. The *-ll-* is used chiefly as a rhyme-word at the end of the line (ten times). But it usually rhymes with another infinitive that has *-ll-,* and only twice does it rhyme with a noun or pronoun: *"escusallo* (v. 169) . . . *caballo," "hazellos* (v. 1402) . . . *ellos."* Once *-ll-* occurs at the end of a hemistich (v. 262), once it seems to be used by attraction to a following rhyme-word (*"a no abrille ni tocalle,"* v. 274), three times it occurs within a line where there seems to be no reason for its use (*"trahellos,"* vv. 1390, 1392; *"quitalla,"* v. 2025), unless it be used in *"trahellos"* to avoid the recurrence of *r* (but *"traerla,"* v. 2442). Of the fifteen infinitives with *-ll-,* only one (v. 2025) occurs in the second half of the play, and this one is not a rhyme-word.

The forms with *-rl-* occur thirty-seven times, but only six times at the end of a line. Four of these latter are in assonance, not in complete rhyme; the other two do not rhyme at all. Evidently, at the time Lope wrote *La dama boba,* he preferred the forms in *-ll-* for verbs that bear the rhythmic stress, but he used them sparingly elsewhere.

The Notes to *La dama boba* are unusually full and instructive. The following changes or additions are suggested:

vv. 57, 59. Not infrequently with Lope *cristalina* and *cristal* are used as complimentary terms when referring to a young lady. See my comment on v. 2083 of *Amar sin saber a quién,* in *Modern Language Notes,* xxxvi, 284–293.

vv. 66–67. seem to mean: 'with nothing to eat save two bits of sugar.' Cf. *"estoy en el aire" = "estoy sin comer."*

v. 343. The line seems too long by one syllable. The variant is: "Di aquí: be, e, n, ben," which reads: Di a|qui: | be, | e, | e|ne, | ben (cf. v. 339).

v. 522. The syllabic division of the line is as follows: o|yd, | se|ño|ra, a E|du|ar|do.

v. 769. It might have been well to call attention to a similar doctrine in the writings of Dante and other poets of the *dolce stil nuovo.* Thus, in the tenth sonnet of the *Vita Nuova,* Dante says:

Amore e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa,
Siccom' il Saggio in suo dittato pone;
E così esser l'un senza l'altro osa,
Com' alma razional senza ragione.
Fagli natura, quando è amorosa,
Amor per sire, e 'l cor per sua magione,
Dentro alla qual dormendo si riposa
Talvolta poca, e tal lunga stagione.
Beltate appare in saggia donna pui,
Che piace agli occhi sì, che dentro al core
Nasce un desio della cosa piacente. ...

Note also the well-known lines in the *Divina Commedia:*

Amor, che al cor gentil ratto s'apprende,
Prese costui della bella persona
Che mi fu tolta, e il modo ancor m'offende.[9]

v. 950. Spanish *jo,* like English 'whoa,' is the command to stop. Cf. Cobarruvias: *"este termino usan los que quieren que la bestia se pare."* The call of muleteers to their beasts to urge them on was, and is, *arre.* But this is doubtless a mere *lapsus calami* of the editor.

vv. 1099 f. Note *amor* as the first word of several successive stanzas. This reminds one of vv. 100 f. of the fifth canto of Dante's *Inferno.*

vv. 1155 f. These are *décimas.* Note that each of three speakers has two *décimas.*

vv. 1483–4. A reference to the proverb: "No está bien el fuego cabe las estopas. Este proverbio nos advierte excusemos la mucha familiaridad con las mujeres peligrosas" (Cobarruvias, v. *estopa*). Correas, in his *Vocabulario de refranes,* gives a more modern version: "No está bien la estopa junto al fuego."

v. 1600. The retention of *y* and the omission of *bien* would make a good eleven-syllable line, with the inner rhythmic accent on the sixth syllable. This and following lines were omitted from the printed edition.

vv. 1741–3. Is this a poor pun?

v. 1813. "Luz va tiniendo ya pienso; que bien pienso, ..." The substitution of *que bien sé* for *que bien pienso* would not make the verse *endecasílabo.* The omission of *ya* would make the line

[9] *Inferno,* V, 100–102.

metrically correct, but the variant is better: "Luz va tomando ya, por cierto creo."

vv. 2033 f. These are *décimas*. As this is a soliloquy, the *décima* may be added to the list of metrical arrangements mentioned at the bottom of page 98.

The last lines of the first *décima* attribute to love some of the virtues that the Archpriest of Hita attributes to gold:

Mucho faz' el dinero, mucho es de amar:
Al torpe faze bueno é ome de prestar,
Ffaze correr al coxo é al mudo fablar,
El que no tiene manos dyneros quier' tomar.
Sea un ome nesçio é rudo labrador,
Los dyneros le fazen fidalgo é sabydor,
Quanto más algo tiene, tanto es de más valor;
El que non há dineros, non es de sy señor.[10]

vv. 2053 f. Note that this *décima* does not have a pause at the end of the fourth line, as is usual in the *espinela*. There is sometimes, as here, a pause after the sixth line, instead of the fourth, but there cannot be a marked pause after the fifth line.

v. 2120. Lope also mentions Cervantes in *Amar sin saber a quién*, v. 123.

vv. 2225–8. These lines, and vv. 2233–6, seem to be *seguidillas*.

v. 2238. May not *vanda*—or *banda*—refer to a sash either denoting rank or worn merely to sustain a sword or dagger (cf. v. 2263)? In Rojas, *Del rey abajo ninguno*, I, after v. 401,

[10] Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Cejador, I, 182.

the *banda* is that of the *Orden de Caballería de la Banda.*

v. 2242. I am told that the French *poilus* call Paris *Paname,* as being a place of great wealth.

v. 2293. This ten-syllable line has a marked ternary movement.

v. 2440. note: *cordera* should be *cordero.*

v. 2533. Both meter and grammar require *me* before *ha,* as in the variant.

v. 2813. *Fenia* should be *Finea.*

v. 3037. *vieran:* a good example of verbal forms in *-ara* or *-iera* used as a pluperfect subjunctive. This is not unusual in Lope's works.

vv. 3126 f. Note that Finea, who is indignant, uses the third person when addressing her father. In v. 3137 she uses the pronoun *él.*[11]

El español de América y el latín vulgar

In *Tomo* I, *Cuaderno* 10, of the publications of the Instituto de Filología of the University of Buenos Aires, there appears a Spanish translation of an article by Professor Max L. Wagner of the University of Berlin. The original article appeared in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* 1920. The Spanish version is entitled *El español de América y el latín vulgar.*

The comparison of the spread of Spanish throughout Spanish America with the spread of Vulgar Latin through-

[11] In a recent letter Professor Schevill suggests the following emendations:
v. 87. "Liseo" should be in italics.
v. 259. Put a comma before and after "Miseno," and omit the note.
v. 580. *"Duardo. Platon."* These words are a part of v. 579, and should precede *"a lo que,"* etc. This is a printer's error.
v. 858. should have a comma at the end.

out western Europe has probably occurred to all of us who are interested in the subject. It was many hundreds of years after the Roman conquest of Gaul and Spain before Latin had supplanted the indigenous speeches. In fact, in the Pyrenees Mountains, Latin has not yet succeeded in supplanting an indigenous speech. Moreover, in French Brittany a non-Latin speech is still used. The Breton language is a descendant of the ancient Celtic that was spoken in Gaul and Britain before the Roman conquest. It is generally believed that Celtic disappeared entirely from Gaul, and was brought back by Celts who fled from the British Isles when these were invaded by the Germans. At any rate, Latin and its modern descendants, the Romance languages, have replaced the indigenous languages in all of continental western Europe that formed a part of the Roman empire, except in the Pyrenees and French Brittany.

In Spanish America the Spanish language is still spreading slowly but steadily. In some Spanish-American countries, such as Mexico and Peru, fully half of the people still speak the indigenous languages. In the Argentine and in Uruguay, on the other hand, the indigenous languages have disappeared, except as spoken by a relatively small number of Indians that are, for the most part, confined in special reservations. This is due to the fact that the natives of this part of South America were nomadic, uncivilized Indians, and few in number. Their fate has been similar to that of the Indians of the United States. In Mexico and Peru the Indians were more numerous, and more highly organized, so that they have kept tenaciously many of their habits. But, in Mexico and Peru, Spanish is the language of all cultivated people; it can be understood and spoken by all classes in the cities, and in the rural districts it is the language that the Indians of the several tribes use when they communicate with

one another. That is to say, Spanish is the "common language." Slowly Spanish is still supplanting these many Indian speeches. If an Indian boy in some rural district goes to school or removes to a city, he must learn Spanish. In the course of time the indigenous languages of Spanish America will almost certainly become extinct in the presence of the dominant and cultivated Spanish language, but it may take several hundred years more before the native speeches disappear entirely. And it is possible that they may exist for an indefinite period in some outlying districts, as the Celtic dialects still live in parts of the British Isles.

Wagner, in his discussion of the spread of Spanish in America, makes the point that the language of the West Indian Islands and of the Gulf Coast of North and South America is characteristically Andalusian, because these regions were settled first and the first settlers came from southern Spain. The language of other parts of Spanish America more closely resembles general Spanish, because the later settlers came from all parts of Spain. This may be true. We have all noticed how much more distinctly the people of Central Mexico pronounce final *s* and medial *d*, than do the inhabitants of Vera Cruz or of Havana. But I suspect the cause is quite other. It seems likely that the Andalusians chose preferably as their dwelling place in the new land those regions where the climate is warm and moist as in Andalusia, while the Castilians preferred the dry, cool highlands of Central Mexico, Colombia, and Peru.

It is surprising to what degree the popular Spanish of America has developed along the same lines that the popular language of Spain has followed. Thus, on both sides of the Atlantic, *-x-* and *j* have become the modern *jota* wherever Spanish is spoken and in all classes, high and low, in spite of the fact that the first Spanish colonists who came to Amer-

ica most probably pronounced medial *x* as "sh" and *j* like the modern French *j* in *juste.*

Speaking of the widespread use of *vos hablás, vos tenés,* etc., for *tú hablas, tú tienes,* etc., in Spanish America, Wagner says: "En la mayoría de los países hispanoamericanos el *tú* no se usa en la conversación vulgar o familiar."

As evidence of this assertion he gives in a note reference to articles that treat the Spanish of South America and of Central America, and he adds: "Lo mismo ocurre en México y en las Antillas." No authority is given for the latter statement. But, as anyone knows who has traveled in Spanish America, the *"voseo"* is restricted to South America and Central America. It is rarely heard in Porto Rico, Cuba, or Mexico, except possibly in the extreme south of Mexico. In the *Revista de Filología Española,* VIII, 4 (1921), pages 389–390, Pedro Henríquez Ureña sums up the use of *vos* correctly as follows:

> No es raro tropezar con afirmaciones generales que atribuyen a toda la América española el *voseo* o uso del pronombre *vos* y formas verbales correspondientes. Pero tales generalizaciones son infundadas, porque más de la tercera parte de la población de la América española ignora el uso del *vos.* El *voseo* existe en la mayor parte de la América del Sur, se extiende a toda la América Central, incluyendo el Estado mexicano de Chiapas, y ha pasado al papiamento de Curazao. Pero el *vos* no existe en México, fuera de Chiapas. Igualmente falta en el Sudoeste hispánico de los Estados Unidos, y podría decirse que falta totalmente en las Antillas españolas (Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico), si no fuera porque en Cuba quedan, rezagados entre los campesinos de la provincia del Camagüey, restos de *voseo,* que en otro tiempo fué más común, aunque nunca general en la isla. México y las Antillas son, pues, regiones, no de *voseo,* sino de *tuteo,* como la mayor parte del Perú.

So far as I am aware no one has attempted to explain why South America prefers *vos* in familiar speech, while North

America prefers *tú*. This would make an interesting study and might throw light on several problems, such as the sources of the colonists and the dates of the settlements.

In both North and South America the familiar plural is *ustedes* and not *vosotros,* which is also true in much of southern Spain.

To what degree, if any, did the indigenous languages of Gaul and Spain affect the phonology of the Latin spoken there? And to what degree if any have the native languages affected the phonology of American Spanish? These questions have not been answered satisfactorily. Let us hope that this matter may be studied with instruments of scientific precision before it is too late. It would be well if the speech habits of the Spanish-speaking people of the Maya country were compared with those of the Mayas, the speech habits of the Spanish-speaking people of Cuzco with those of the Quechuans, and so forth. We know with some approach to accuracy the changes in the Spanish vocabulary of America that are due to Indian influences, but we know little as to what changes, if any, have been caused in enunciation. On the frame-work of Spanish, that is to say, on its morphology and syntax, the Indian languages have had no effect whatever.

Manual de Pronunciación Española. Tercera edición corregida y aumentada. Por Tomás Navarro Tomás, Madrid, 1926.

This third edition of the *Manual de pronunciación española* contains important changes and additions. The extent of the enlargement may be judged by the fact that the new edition has approximately eighty pages more than the old edition.

In the Introduction, § 3, the general distinction between the Spanish of central and northern Spain on the one hand, and that of southern Spain and Spanish America on the other, is brought out clearly:

> Desde este punto de vista la semejanza entre el andaluz y el hispanoamericano no se funda únicamente en la extensión con que en uno y otro se dan el seseo y el yeísmo, sino en la evolución de las consonantes finales, en la relajación de la *j*, en la tendencia de determinadas vocales a tomar un timbre más abierto y en cualidades menos concretas y aún no bien definidas que afectan al mecanismo total de la articulación. Verdad es que tratándose de personas cultas, las diferencias fonéticas entre castellanos y andaluces o hispanoamericanos son mucho menores que entre las clases populares.
>
> Se comprende que en el habla de América debe haber influencias fonéticas de todas las regiones españolas, pero no es cosa fácil establecer la época, los lugares y las circunstancias relativas a la influencia de cada región. El número y la procedencia de los colonizadores, aun siendo datos de principal interés, pueden no aparecer siempre en relación con el arraigo y la amplitud de determinados fenómenos. El hecho es que el oído español puede confundir a un hispanoamericano con un extremeño o andaluz, pero no, por ejemplo, con un asturiano, castellano o aragonés.

In § 4, Navarro undertakes to define the kind of Spanish that he considers the norm of good pronunciation. It is the speech of cultivated people in Castile. It rejects both provincial variations and the pronunciation of the lower classes in Madrid, Toledo, etc. And it also rejects the speech of people who, for etymological or orthographic reasons, attempt to use a pedantic pronunciation (such as pronouncing *b* and *v* as in French or English).

Once more Navarro warns us against the erroneous belief that "Spanish is pronounced as it is written." Although Spanish orthography approximates a phonetic system much more nearly than does English orthography, after reading through Navarro's *Manual* one cannot fail to be impressed by

the large number of cases where orthography and pronunciation differ in Spanish. In this connection it might not be amiss to add some day to the *Manual* a concise, general statement regarding the double pronunciation of Spanish, which uses one or the other according as the speaker utters the words slowly and emphatically, or rapidly and without conscious effort. Thus, a teacher dictating to beginners and pronouncing each syllable separately, would say: *un-ba-so-de-a-gua,* with *n* and with relatively occlusive *d* and *g*; while in normal conversation he would say *umbaso de agua,* with *m*, with a completely occlusive *b*, and with fricative *d* and *g*. Again, he would say *mismo* if articulating with pedantic distinctness, but if he spoke normally he would say *mizmo*. The number of such changes is large in Spanish, and they cause our beginners much trouble. For instance, a beginner may ask his teacher, a native Spaniard, to give him the "correct pronunciation" of *mismo,* and the teacher will invariably give *mis-mo*. But when this same teacher is talking in a normal tone of voice and without self-consciousness he will pronounce the word *mizmo*.

When we come to the body of the *Manual* we note, for instance, that the exercises have been transferred to the back of the book and the bibliographies have been considerably enlarged. Both changes are commendable.

In § 42, Navarro calls attention to the fact that the open or close quality of Spanish vowels depends on environment rather than on etymological grounds, and he calls attention to the existence in Spanish of a variety of metaphony that is common in Portuguese, namely where final unstressed *o* tends to close the preceding stressed vowel, and final *a* or *e* tends to open it. This kind of metaphony, by the way, is found in Rumanian also. In Spanish, however, the resultant change is less than in Portuguese or Rumanian.

Paragraph 44, on the tendency of unstressed vowels toward "relaxation," reminds one of the advisability of warning English-speaking students to disregard all that Navarro says regarding relaxed or obscure unstressed vowels in Spanish. Navarro's statement is correct and should appear in a manual such as this, but it must be used cautiously by our beginners. It is really better not to tell them that the final *a* of *cama* is more relaxed or obscure than the stressed *a*. It is better to instruct them to pronounce the two *a*'s alike if they can. In fact, the language of central Spain (Castilian) and the language of central Italy (Tuscan) are, so far as I know, the only Romance languages that have kept intact in their purity the final *o* and *a*. Elsewhere final *o* has become *u* or has disappeared, and final *a* has become an obscure "neutral" or "mixed" sound, or has even disappeared as commonly in modern French. But in Castilian and Tuscan we still hear *luna* and *tanto* with a full, resonant *a* and *o* that it is a joy to hear.

In the new edition, Navarro uses *trabada* and *libre,* instead of *cerrada* and *abierta* respectively, when referring to syllables.

No rules in Spanish phonetics are more important than those for distinguishing the open vowels from the close. Some important changes in these rules appear in the third edition. Thus, *i* is open before *j*. And *e* is open in contact with multiple *r*, except when between the *r* and *s*, as in *resto*; *e* is also open in a closed syllable, except before *m*, *n*, *s*, *d*, *z*, and *x* = *gs*. Here the second edition mentioned only *n* and *s*. The *o* is open in contact with multiple *r*, whether it precedes or follows, before *j* (as in *hoja*), and in the combination *aor* and *aol* (as in *ahora* and *la ola*). The *u* is open in contact with multiple *r*.

In the discussion of the three shades of pronunciation of

Spanish *a*, Navarro repeats the statement that the Spanish palatal *a* has approximately the sound of English *a* as in "ask." It would have been better to choose another word, such, for instance, as "act" or "bad." In "ask" the quality of the *a* varies all the way from the palatal front *a*, as heard commonly but not exclusively in the United States, to a medial or velar (back) *a*, heard commonly in parts of England, and generally among cultivated people in the United States.

Navarro (§ 58) warns against the diphthongation of stressed *o*, which, he says, "especialmente los angloamericanos suelen efectuar diciendo algo como *to^{u}no, no^{u}ta,* por *tono, nota,* etc." The fact is that the Americans of English speech, and especially the western Americans, make the stressed *o* and the stressed *e* less diphthongal than do the English of central or southern England. Thus, an American tends to say "code" with little diphthongation, while an Englishman will usually say *co^{u}de,* with open *o* and a distinct *u* glide. Incidentally, on page 50, *chante* should be *chanté*; and on page 63, twelfth line from the bottom, "final" should be "principio."

The material in §§ 68–70 is in part new and in part is drawn from the later pages of the old edition. For English-speaking people, with their fondness for hiatus, probably nothing in Spanish is more troublesome than the use of syneresis and synalepha; nor is anything more important. Listen to the beginner in schools and colleges read *no está aquí* as a sentence of five syllables (instead of three). They will all do it unless the teacher hammers away at them constantly. And when it comes to such subtleties of synalepha as are found in *empezó a retozar* and *medité un momento,* with shift of stress to *a* and *un*, I fear that even some of our advanced students may stumble. Certainly, no one can read

verse properly or sing to set music without a control of synæresis and synalepha; and in Navarro's new *Manual* none of the material is more important for English-speaking students.

In § 70 the following statement is made:

Las vocales representan aproximadamente el 50% del material fonético del idioma español. Las consonantes, aunque forman una serie más numerosa que la de las vocales, no entran en mayor proporción que éstas en la composición de las palabras. Hay varias consonantes de uso relativamente escaso. La vocal más frecuente es la *a*. En el recuento de varios trozos, el orden de frecuencia en que han resultado las cinco vocales, dentro del 50% indicado, ha sido: *a*, 16%; *e*, 14; *o*, 10.4; *i*, 6; *u*, 3.6. Las variantes abiertas *e*, *o*, son menos frecuentes que las cerradas *e*, *o*.

These data are interesting and one wonders whether they do not throw some light on the Spanish fondness for assimilation to *a* (as in *para, navaja, trabajar,* etc.) and less often dissimilation from *i* or *u* (as in *vecino, culebra,* etc.).

In § 74 the statement is made that the Germans and English are wont to pronounce *p* as *b*, etc. The Germans from certain parts of Germany do so, as many of us have noted, but I doubt that any English-speaking people do so.

There is in § 93 an interesting discussion of the *seseo,* and in § 108 the *ceceo* is treated. Navarro advises all foreigners, even if they go to Spanish America, not to pronounce *z* as *s*:

En cuanto a los extranjeros que estudian este idioma, es indudable la conveniencia de que aprendan a hacer una distinción que, aparte de facilitar la ortografía y la lectura del verso, es considerada en España como la forma más correcta y no parece afectada ni pretenciosa en América tratándose de personas que no son naturales del país.

And yet he says that:

La opinión general en Castilla acepta el seseo andaluz e hispanoamericano como modalidad dialectal que los hispanoamericanos y andaluces pueden usar sin reparo hasta en los círculos sociales más

cultos y escogidos. Son muchas, sin embargo, las personas de dicho origen que teniendo que viajar o vivir fuera de su país adoptan el uso de la zeta, cuyo sonido, por su carácter culto, borra todo indicio de procedencia.

Probably no sound is more difficult for English-speaking people than the Spanish *s*. In north central Spain it is a back *s*, slightly palatal. In Andalusia and in most of Spanish America it is a front *s*, uttered softly and without hissing when initial or intervocalic. Before a consonant, or final, it frequently resembles German *ch* in *ich* pronounced very softly, or it has disappeared altogether, as in *loh pahtore* (*los pastores*), etc.

A distinguished Spaniard from Cordoba, Spain, who now lives in Madrid, told me once that he had resided in the capital ten years before he could use the Castilian back *s* without conscious effort. Whichever Spanish *s* they learn, the back slightly palatal *s* of Old Castile, or the front and non-sibilant *s* of Andalusia and most of Spanish America, our students should expect to use conscious effort for several years before breaking away from their offensively sibilant English *s*.

Navarro has added to the treatment of *r* (see §§ 113, 115, and 117). I said above that probably no sound is more difficult for our students than the Spanish *s*. I now retract, to this extent. The Spanish single *r* (not the double or multiple *r*) is the most difficult sound of all for those Americans who were born and reared between the Alleghenies and the Sierra Nevada, and north of the Ohio River, that is to say, in the great hinterland, where the natives use a back or velar *r* (with the tongue pulled back) that affects every sound in its vicinity. This *r* is not found, oddly enough, anywhere along the Atlantic, Gulf, or Pacific Coasts, except on the tongues of people who have come from the northern Middle West of the United States. Anyone that uses this velar *r*

will have great difficulty in acquiring a Spanish *r* that will be even intelligible to Spanish ears. Probably the best way for such a person to acquire the *r* of *cara,* for instance, is to follow the advice of Navarro to make the *r* as nearly as possible in the *d* position. I would add that the *d* should be as far forward as possible, so as to make sure that the *d* is not made in or near the position of the back *r*. Say *se lava la cada,* and one gets a sound much nearer the Spanish *r* than if one says *se lava la cara* with a Middle-Western American *r*. At any rate, the *cada* would be understood, while the *cara* probably would not be, unless its meaning were gotten from the context.

Another difficult sound for English-speaking students is the Spanish *y,* as in *ya, yo,* etc. The English *y* will not do, of course. But when our students attempt to make the *y* properly fricative, they are apt to go too far and pronounce it like English *j* in *just*. The only consolation for this is that some Spaniards and Spanish Americans do so too when they speak emphatically. In fact, Spanish *y* after *n* or *l* should have the sound of English *j* in *just* (§ 119), as in *con hierro, el yerno,* etc. I wonder how many of our advanced students in Spanish know this and practice it.

In § 121, Navarro calls attention to the pronunciation of intervocalic *y* like English *s* in "pleasure" in parts of New Castile and Andalusia (I have heard *caballo,* with the *ll* thus pronounced, in Toledo, Spain). This is the common pronunciation of intervocalic *y* in the Argentine. It has often been said that this Argentine sound came from Italy, as about one-third of the Argentines are of Italian descent. The Italian speech habits may have helped to establish the *zh* sound in the Argentine, but as the sound is wide-spread in Spain, it is not necessary to go to Italy to find the source of the Argentine pronunciation of intervocalic *y* (or *y* from *ll*).

Again, I wonder how many of our students have broken with the English *ny* and *ly* (as in "onion" and "million"), and have learned to pronounce *ñ* and *ll* with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth.

It is customary in our North American schools and colleges to say that we are teaching the "Castilian pronunciation" if we use the zeta and do not pronounce the *ll* as *y* (forgetful of the two *s*'s, the two jotas, etc.). But the conditions are not so simple as all that. It is true that the zeta line is south of Madrid, but on the other hand the *y* (for *ll*) line is north of Madrid. In both Madrid and Toledo the natives use the zeta, but they generally pronounce the *ll* as *y*, except on the stage or in the pulpit.

In our schools I, for one, would advise the use of zeta. As to *y* for *ll*, I am in doubt. Most of our students who are trying to pronounce the *ll* give it the sound of English *li* in "million," and that is infinitely worse than *y*. And then *y* for *ll* is common in Madrid and Toledo.

The *Resumen* (§ 132) is new, and it shows how much spoken Spanish may differ from what one would expect from the printed page, and also how fluctuating and imprecise are many Spanish sounds. Thus, in the same small town, one person may say *cansado,* another may say *cansao,* while a third says *cansau* with a very broad *a* (§ 101). A gentleman, by the way, may say *cansao,* but he is not allowed to say *cansau.*

In this *Resumen* there are interesting statistics regarding the frequency of the several consonants:

> Las consonantes sonoras, en el cuadro de nuestros sonidos, son más numerosas que las sordas. . . . Aparte de esto, algunas de ellas, como la *r*, la *l* y la *n*, se destacan entre todas por su extraordinaria frecuencia. La *s* es más frecuente que cualquiera de las oclusivas *p*, *t*, *k*, pero la theta, la jota y especialmente la *f* se dan en proporción más

pequeña que dichas oclusivas. En cifras aproximadas se puede calcular la proporción media de las vocales en un 50 por 100, la de las consonantes sonoras en un 30 por 100 y la de las sordas en un 20 por 100.

The long chapter on "Sonidos Agrupados" is one of the most important in the book, and one that our advanced students should study with care. How many already know, for instance, that in *al día siguiente, su tía Dolores, se había venido,* etc., the *ia* is pronounced *iá* "en la conversación ordinaria y corriente," "sin protesta del oído ... diciéndolas con naturalidad y rapidez" (§ 148)?

The chapters on *"Entonación"* are important and helpful, but are, in the main, quite beyond the reach of our students unless they are fortunate enough to have a highly trained native teacher who will give them much drill in the "sing" of the language. This "sing" is the last thing that foreigners get, if they ever get it at all. Fortunately, it is not so important as synalepha, nor so vital as the proper control of *e, o,* of *b, d, g,* of *r, s,* etc.

The new edition contains much valuable material that is not found in the first and second editions. Students of Spanish are fortunate to have at their disposal a treatise on pronunciation that is both scientifically accurate and pedagogically usable. I know no other language that has a better manual of pronunciation.

La Méthode Comparative en Linguistique Historique. By A. Meillet. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), 1925, pp. viii + 116.

M. Meillet has given to the public in this little volume the substance of a series of lectures that he delivered at Oslo (Christiania), before the Institutett for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. It is a plea for scientific exactness in the

study of linguistic phenomena; and it urges not only the comparative study of languages as such, but also that they be thoroughly examined in their relations to other social usages:

> Il importe de mettre en contact tous les savants qui s'occupent de l'homme et de ses civilisations à tous égards; une langue ne se comprend pas si l'on n'a pas une idée des conditions où vit la population qui l'emploie; et l'on ne peut davantage comprendre vraiment une religion ou des usages sociaux sans connaître la langue des hommes qui pratiquent ces usages (p. vi).

The statement is made (pp. vi f.) that the modern Romance languages are derived from spoken Latin and not from the Latin that was written. This is quite true if by written Latin one means the belles-lettres of the classical period, for these were written in a Latin that was artificial in word order, a Hellenized Latin that was never used in conversation except by the relatively few high priests of Greek culture, in short, a Latin that the common man in Rome could not understand without much study. By the third century of our era written Latin differed in form from spoken Latin as much as written English differs today from spoken English. We still write *enough, though, sew, colonel,* etc., and the Romans continued to write *pilum* (for *pelo*), *bulla* (for *bolla*), *ipse* (for *esse*), *mensem* (for *mese*), *quinque* (for *cinque*), *amavi* (for *amai*), etc.

Those who wrote and read literary Latin kept the old spelling, but there is not the slightest evidence that they kept the old pronunciation. They probably did not keep it any more than we keep it in English *tonight*. Even in the classical period *m* final in a word, except in a few monosyllables, seems to have disappeared in the living, spoken language. The poets generally disregarded it in synalepha, although they continued to write it. Meillet (p. 15) says: "Cette

nasale finale se prononçait faiblement." There is not sufficient evidence that it was pronounced at all at that time. Many penciled and painted inscriptions omit it and there is no trace of it in the Romance languages, except in a few monosyllables, and in these it generally appears as *n*. Later in medieval Latin, when the separation of the vernacular from Latin became so great that by no compromise could they longer be considered one language, the final *m* was pronounced again when reading Latin.

M. Meillet, by the way, says: "Cette nasale ne s'est maintenue que dans le monosyllabe accentué *rem* qui a abouti à français *rien*." He should add *mon* and *mien* (from *meum*), *ton* and *tien* < *tuen* (from *tuum*), and *son* and *sien* < *suen* (from *suum*) for French, and *quien* (from *quem*) and its derivatives for Spanish, and *quem* and its derivatives for Portuguese. To these words with accusative *-m* should be added *con* (from *cum*) for Italian and Spanish and *com* for Portuguese.

The statement is made (p. 13) that *"à la date où s'est brisé l'Empire romain, la déclinaison subsistait et jouait encore un grand rôle."* This can neither be proved nor disproved, but I doubt it. In the *Peregrinatio,* for instance, the author strives to write literary Latin; she uses the *r*-passive and she uses datives and ablatives in *-is* and *-bus,* but I find no occasion to believe that she used any of these in conversation. The general confusion in the use of case endings with prepositions seems to indicate that for the author their use was quite artificial. I see no reason to believe that she used in conversation more than two cases—a subject form and an object form.

M. Meillet is of the opinion that there is not "aucun trait commun" in the *Petri* of *Petri liber* and the *de Pierre* of *le livre de Pierre.* But the process is quite similar save for

the position of the particle that denotes possession. Note also that in French the definite article is prefixed; in Rumanian it is postfixed. But this does not indicate that in the use of the definite article these two languages do not have *"aucun trait commun."*

The author calls attention to the fact that in the modern Romance languages the system of the inflection of nouns by case endings is lost, while the inflection of verbs is still largely preserved (pp. 29 f.). This is interesting and true. M. Meillet adds that *"encore aujourd'hui, dans les langues indo-européennes, la distinction du nom et du verbe est demeurée nette partout."* He is speaking of the forms of nouns and verbs, *"où chaque mot portait en lui-même la marque de son rôle dans la phrase,"* and he evidently overlooked English. For in English the distinction in form between noun and verb is lost, and a word, without change of form, often serves as either: thus, "I bought a *saw*," "I *saw* wood daily"; "I killed a *fly*," "Men now *fly* like birds," etc. In fact, most English words can be used as either verbs or nouns without change of form if only the sense permits.

In any language the vocabulary is the least stable element (p. 33). The instability, I should say, depends on change in environment. Mention is made of the fact that *"le tsigane arménien a une morphologie et une phonétique tout arméniennes et un vocabulaire tout tsigane."* It is likewise true that the language of the Spanish *gitanos,* if I may judge from the grammars and dictionaries that I have examined, has a vocabulary of its own, but regularly uses the flexional endings of Spanish verbs.

M. Meillet supports the theory that

> s'il y a des moments où le changement linguistique semble se précipiter, cela tient pour beaucoup à ce qu'il y a, pour les innovations, une longue période de préparation. . . . . Le changement de *caballum*

en *cheval,* qui s'est fait assez vite, est ce qui se voit. La préparation de ce changement a demandé de longs siècles et ne se voit guère. . . . . Ce que l'on observe en général dans les langues indo-européennes, c'est le résultat de débâcles brusques, consécutives à des périodes de préparation (pp. 45 ff.).

I am of the opinion that this theory can be accepted only in so far as it applies to written languages that have literary or official sanction. Thus, there is a striking change from classical Latin to the literary French of the eleventh century, and there is no doubt that this change is the result of a long period of preparation. But, during all those centuries, was not the living, spoken language slowly but continuously changing its forms and its vocabulary? Everything points that way, except that the changes were accelerated during periods of social and political confusion, and slackened when there was peace and order. The change from *caballum* to *cheval, "qui s'est fait assez vite,"* according to M. Meillet, was probably not made so quickly as the written texts might seem to indicate. It is well known that the Old Latin endings of the second declension were *-os, -om,* etc., and there is no satisfactory evidence that the provinces followed suit when Rome adopted *-us, -um.* In fact, the survival of *-o* in Italian tends to indicate that they did not. How early Vulgar Latin [kaballo] became [kjaval(lo)], or something of the sort, in Gaul, we do not know, but the complete change from *caballo* to modern French *cheval* took about a thousand years—at the time of the Norman conquest of England, *ch* was still pronounced as it is in modern English—and we must not forget that a year was as long then as it is now.

"Il n'y a presque pas un peuple qui n'ait changé de langue au moins une fois, et généralement plus d'une fois" (p. 72). This is true enough, although the fact is frequently overlooked by those who undertake to classify races according to

the languages they speak. In Mexico and Peru the majority of the people are American Indians, but the official and literary language of both countries is Spanish, and there is every reason to believe that in time many Indian languages will disappear entirely and Spanish will be the common language of all Mexicans and Peruvians.

On page 80 M. Meillet speaks of *"une hérédité d'habitudes acquises par les sujets parlant gaulois,"* and again *"de certaines habitudes acquises transmises par hérédité."* The theory that distinctive speech habits among Europeans are inherited has not been proved, so far as I know.[12] Language is chiefly a social convention, and it seems to depend on environment rather than on heredity. I know the children of Germans and Frenchmen who speak English without the slightest trace of a foreign accent. Until some definite scientific evidence has been offered, I am loath to believe that the vocal organs of a German or a French infant are different, either in shape or in nervous control, from those of an English infant. There is no doubt that the Irish peasants speak English with an Irish-Celtic accent, but I believe that this is the result of traditional speech habits rather than that of inherited characteristics.

M. Meillet remarks (p. 80) that

> il n'y a aucune raison de croire que le roman initial (dit latin vulgaire) ait eu un accent bien intense, et l'on sait que l'accent du français actuel comporte une très faible intensité.

It is quite true that the accent of intensity is weak in French, but it is stronger in Italian, which is nearer to Vulgar Latin.

[12] A careful reading of J. van Ginneken, "Die Erblichkeit der Lautgesetze," *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XLV, 1–44, 1927, leaves me unconvinced. The thick lips of central African negroes may affect their bilabial sounds, and their flat noses may affect their nasals, but I can find no convincing evidence that the western European races have distinctive speech characteristics that are due to hereditary physical causes.

There is reason to believe that the relatively even stress of syllables in modern French is due to the loss of the unstressed final vowels. Italian, which has kept the unstressed final *-a*, *-e*, and *-o* of Vulgar Latin, has a much stronger syllabic stress. Moreover, experiments have shown that in Spanish, at least, the accented syllables have length as well as stress. The reader is referred to the various publications of Tomás Navarro Tomás as reported in the *Revista de Filología Española.*

On pages 114–116, M. Meillet has undertaken to illustrate certain linguistic problems by reference to the history of English in America, and in these paragraphs, I regret to say, the data that he uses are largely inexact. In the first place, he states that *"l'anglais est moins résistant au changement que le français,"* and he does so in spite of the fact that the history of English and of French in America leads to the opposite conclusion. The English of America is remarkably uniform, and there is no part of the United States where a Londoner has the slightest difficulty in understanding the speech of the common people or in making himself understood. The Londoner notes certain differences in pronunciation and in vocabulary, but, after all, these differences are no greater than those that exist between the speech of London and that of any one of several outlying English districts. On the other hand, the French of America has shown little *"résistance."* There are many largely divergent dialects of French in Canada. I spent five summers in a French-speaking community in the Montreal district and the results of my study of the dialect that is spoken there have been printed by the Modern Language Association of America.[13] It is my conviction that a Parisian would not understand the com-

[13] See "Notes on Canadian French," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* July 1903, pp. 363–377.

mon language of the district that was studied. And the common French of the Haitians and that of the Acadians in Louisiana differ from each other and each differs from the Canadian French dialects to such a degree that if unlettered Canadians, Haitians, and Acadians should happen to come together, I doubt that a member of any one of the three groups could understand or make himself understood by a member of another group except with the greatest difficulty.

Attention has frequently been called to the fact that Spanish too is more *"résistant"* than French. When a Chilean converses with a Mexican, for instance, one can observe a difference in intonation and occasionally a difference in vocabulary, and that is all. It is, however, really futile to speak of the *"résistance"* of any language, as if a language had a separate existence, but if the term is applied to the English, the Spanish, and the French of America, M. Meillet's statement should be revised and made to read as follows: *le français est moins résistant au changement que l'anglais ou l'espagnol.*

With regard to the influence of the immigrants of foreign speech on American English M. Meillet offers data that are inexact, as when he says that the proportion of foreign-born is greater in the western states than in the eastern states. According to the census of 1920 the percentage of foreign-born in the New England and Middle Atlantic states was 23.1, while the percentage in the East North Central States was 15.1 and in the West North Central States 11.0.

M. Meillet says that in the United States English is spoken by a majority of people with whom the tradition of English speech is recent and of whom many are bilingual. This statement, however, is probably more nearly true of the French of France than of the English of America. The majority of Frenchmen are still bilingual and their mother

tongue is Provençal, Basque, Gascon, Breton, Normand, Alsatian German, Savoyard, Corsican, etc. For this majority north central French is still a cultural language and they speak it, as M. Meillet acknowledges, *"d'une manière spéciale et qui d'ailleurs diffère d'une région à l'autre."*

A LIST OF OLD SPANISH DICTIONARIES IN THE COLLECTION OF E. C. HILLS

Academia, Madrid, 1726–1739:

Diccionario de la lengua castellana en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las phrases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes, y otras cosas convenientes al uso de la lengua ... compuesto por la Real Academia Española ... Madrid. En la imprenta de Francisco del Hierro ... (la viuda de ... ; los herederos de ...) 1726–1739. 6 vols. 24×33.5 c. 2183 pp. [2 columns]. [This is the *Diccionario de autoridades,* the first edition of the dictionary of the Academy.]

Academia, Madrid, 1770:

Diccionario de la lengua castellana compuesto por la Real Academia Española. Segunda impresion corregida y aumentada. Tomo primero. A–B. Madrid. Por D. Joachin Ibarra, impresor de Cámara de S.M. 1770. 25×35.5 c. lxii+552 pp. [2 columns]. [This is the first and only volume of the second edition of the *Diccionario de autoridades.*]

Academia, Madrid, 1791:

Diccionario de la lengua castellana compuesto por la Real Academia Española, reducido a un tomo ... Tercera edición ... Madrid. ... Viuda de don Joaquin Ibarra. ... 1791. 29×36 c. iv+867 pp. [3 columns].

Alcalá, Granada, 1501:

[Microphotographic reproduction of:]

Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arauiga ... Pedro de Alcalá ... Impressa ... por Juan Varela ... Granada ... 1501. 636 pp. [2 columns]. [Photographed on 36 pp. 18 × 28c.]

Cormon, Leon, 1800:

Diccionario portátil y de pronunciacion, español-frances y frances-español, al uso de ambas naciones ... Por J. L. Bartholome Cormon. Leon, En la libreria de Cormon y Blanc ... 1800. 12.5×20 c. 2 vols. I: viii+776 pp.; II: xii+688 pp. [2 columns].

De las Casas, Seville, 1583:

Vocabulario de las dos lengvas Toscana y Castellana, de Christoval de las Casas en que se contiene la declaracion de Toscano en Castellano y de Castellano en Toscano, en dos partes con vna introdvcion para leer y pronunciar bien entrambas lenguas ... En Sevilla. En casa de Andrea Pescioni. A costa de Diego Nuñez, Mercader de libros. 1583. 13.5×19.5 c. [2 parts in one vol.] viii+440 pp. [2 columns].

De las Casas, Venice, 1587:

Vocabvlario de las dos lengvas toscana y castellana de Christoual de las Casas. ... Et accresciuto da Camillo Camilli di molti vocaboli. ... Con una introduccion para leer, y pronunciar bien entrambas lenguas. En Venetia. ... 1587 (at end: Impresso en Venetia, en casa de Gio. Antonio Bertano, a instancia di Damiano Zenaro, mercader de libros). 11 × 16 c. xlvi+437 pp. [2 columns].

Cobarruuias, Madrid, 1611:

Tesoro de la lengua Castellana, o Española. Compuesto por el licenciado Don Sebastian de Cobarruuias Orozco. ... Madrid. ... Luis Sanchez, ... 1611. 19×27.3 c. xx+1362 pp. [2 columns].

Same.

Microphotographic reproduction from the copy in the library of the Hispanic Society of America. New York, 1927. [Photographed on 154 pp., 9.8×15 c.]

Covarruvias, Madrid, 1674:

Tesoro de la lengua Castellana, o Española. Compvesto por el licenciado Don Sebastian de Covarruvias Orozco ... Añadido por el Padre Benito Remigio Noydens ... Melchor Sanchez, ... 1674. 19 × 27.3 c. Primera parte, xii+550+2 pp.; Segunda parte, 426+6 pp. [2 columns.]

Bound in one volume and following: Del origen y principio de la lengva Castellana, ò Romance que oy se vsa en España. Compvesto por el Doctor Bernardo Aldrete ... Madrid ... Melchor Sanchez ... 1674. 19×27.3 c. iv+178+2 pp. [2 columns.]

Franciosini [Venice], 1636:

Vocabolario Italiano, e Spagnolo non piv dato in lvce: nel quale con la facilità, e copia, che in altri manca, si dichiarono, e con proprietà conuertono tutte le voci Toscane in Castigliano, e le Castigliane in Toscano: ... Composta da Lorenzo Franciosini Fiorentino. Appresso Pietro Marcello. 1636. 11×17.5 c. [2 parts in one vol.]. I: vi+668; II: 784 [2 columns]. [I contains "Regola per legger, e scrivere in lingva Castigliana" (2 pp.) and "Introduzione alla lingva Spagnola" (34 pp.); II contains "Regla para leer Italiano" (6 pp.)].

Franciosini, Venice, 1735:

Vocabolario Italiano, e Spagnolo ... da Lorenzo Franciosini ... Venezia, 1735. Nella Stamperia Baglioni. 2 vols. 11×16.5 c. I: 579 pp.; II: 676 pp. [2 columns]. [I contains "Regola per legger, e scrivere in lingua castigliana" (2 pp.), and "Introduzione alla lingua spagnola" (30 pp.). II contains "Regla para leer italiano" (6 pp.).]

Franciosini, Venice, 1785:

Vocabolario Italiano, e Spagnolo ... da Lorenzo Franciosini ... Venezia, 1785. Nella Stamperia Baglioni. 2 vols. 11×16.5 c. I: xxxvi+543 pp. [2 columns]; II: vii+668 pp. [I contains "Regola per legger, e scrivere in lingua castigliana" (2 pp.), and "Introduzione alla lingua spagnola" (34 pp.).]

Hidalgo, Madrid, 1779:

Romances de Germania de varios autores, con el Vocabulario ... para declaracion de sus términos y lengua. Compuesto por Juan Hidalgo ... Madrid ... Antonio de Sancha ... 1779. 11×18 c. iv+295 pp. [Contains:] Vocabulario de Germania, 50 pp.

Howell, London, 1659–1660:

Lexicon Tetraglotton, an English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary . . . with another volume of the choicest Proverbs in all the said tongues . . . by . . . James Howell, Esq., London, printed by F. G. for Samuel Thomson at the Bishops head in St Paul's Church-yard. 1660. 22×33.6 c. xviii+412 pp. (3 columns). [Bound in the same volume (2 columns)]: A particular Vocabulary or Nomenclature, in English, Italian, French, and Spanish, of the proper terms belonging to several arts and sciences, to recreations, to common professions and callings both liberal and mechanick, etc. London. Printed by Thomas Leach, 1659. viii+191 (the title at end). (Fifty-two sections, as follows): I. An Anatomy of the inward and outward parts of the human body . . . , 11 pp. II. Of Horses, and horsemanship . . . , 9 pp. III. Of Hunting, or venery . . . , 9 pp. Of other wild beasts, 2 pp. IV. Of Falconry, or hawking . . . , 7½ pp. V. Warr and soldiery . . . , 5½ pp. VI. Of seafaring affairs, and navigation . . . , 7½ pp. More particular terms of navigation, as also of the winds, of the laws, and punishments at sea, etc., 4½ pp. VII. Orders of knighthood . . . , 4½ pp. VIII. Religious orders . . . , 3 pp. IX. Ecclesiastical dignities . . . , 1 p. X. The different opinions in Christian religion . . . , 3 pp. XI. Of buildings and the terms of architecture . . . , 5½ pp. XII. Household stuff . . . , 2 pp. XIII. A library . . . , 3 pp. XIV. Matters, or utensils belonging to a kitchen . . . , 3 pp. XV. Instruments, and terms belonging to an orchard, or garden, 1 p. XVI. Garden herbs . . . , 2½ pp. XVII. Graine, roots, and corn of all kindes, 1 p. XVIII. Wine and drinks . . . , 2 pp. XIX. Beasts, or flesh for the first course, 1 p. XX. Birds and poultry of all kinds, 1 p. XXI. The degrees or differences of ages and persons, 5 pp. XXII. Reproachful, reviling, infamous, or opprobrious terms, 1 p. XXIII. Infirmities and diseases

. . . , 4 pp. XXIV. Consanguinity, kindred, or affinity, 2 pp. XXV. Cloath, and other stuffs to make apparrel, 1½ pp. Colours . . . , 1 p. XXVI. Jewels, precious stones . . . , 1½ pp. XXVII. Musique . . . , 2 pp. XXVIII. Of sports, or playes . . . , 3 pp. XXIX. Of a journey, 3 pp. XXX. Husbandry . . . , 2½ pp. XXXI. Fencing . . . , 2 pp. XXXII. Fortifications . . . , 1 p. Perfume . . . , ½ p. XXXIII. Habits, or apparel for men, 3½ pp. XXXIV. Womens apparel, 2 pp. XXXV. Birds, and fowl for hawking, 2 pp. XXXVI. Of fish, and the terms of fishing, 2 pp. XXXVII. Spices for sawce, ½ p. XXXVIII. An orchard . . . , 3½ pp. XXXIX. Singing, or cage-birds, 1 p. XL. Weights and measures, 2 pp. XLI. Forest-trees and woods, 1½ pp. XLII. Reptiles, worms, and insects, 1 p. XLIII. The table, and the meat thereupon, 5 pp. XLIV. Arms defensive and offensive, 5½ pp. XLV. Names, and appellations . . . , 3½ pp. XLVI. The names of women . . . , 1 p. XLVII. Heraldry, or armory . . . , 3 pp. XLVIII. Terms of chemistry, and the obscurest explained, 4 pp. XLIX. A city or town, etc., with the tradesmen, and artificers thereof . . . , 1 p. L. The several sorts of citizens, trades, and handicrafts, etc., in a town, 4½ pp. LI. Other mechanical trades . . . and their tools, 4 pp. LII. A gradual epitome of the universe, 7½ pp. [And]: Proverbs, or, Old Sayed Sawes and Adages in English (or the Saxon toung), Italian, French and Spanish, whereunto the British, for their great antiquity, and weight are added. Collected by F. H. Esq. London, Printed by F. G. 1659. Proverbs . . . in the English toung, [two columns] viii+24 pp. English proverbs rendered into French, Italian and Spanish, ii+8 pp. . . . Proverbs . . . in the French toung, vi+28 pp. Italian proverbs (including "Lettera piacevole composta de proverbi, dell' Arsiccio . . ."), vi+24 pp. Proverbs . . . in the Spanish toung (including "Carta embiada de un galan a su dama . . . Blasco de Garay"), iv+32 pp. British, or Old Cambrian proverbs, vi+40 pp. Divers centuries of new sayings which may serve for proverbs to posterity, ii+10 pp.

Minsheu, London, 1599:

A Dictionarie in Spanish and English: First published into the English tongue by Ric. Percivale Gent. Now enlarged and amplified with many thousand words . . . by John Minsheu professor of languages in London. Imprinted at London by Edm. Bollifant. 1599. 19×28.5 c. vi+391 pp. [3 columns]. [This edition is wrongly ascribed to Richard Percivale by Viñaza, *Bib. hist.* No. 723.] [Bound in the same volume]: A Spanish Grammar, first collected and published by

Richard Percivale Gent. Now augmented and increased . . . by John Minsheu. Imprinted at London by Edm. Bollifant. 1599. 20×30.5 c. vi+84. [And]: Pleasant and Delightful Dialogues in Spanish and English, profitable to the learner, and not unpleasant to any other reader. By John Minsheu professor of languages in London. Imprinted at London by Edm. Bollifant. 1599. 200×300 c. ii+68 pp. [2 columns]. [The first edition. These dialogues were used by Juan de Luna in his *Diálogos familiares* (Paris, 1619), and by Oudin, Franciosini, and others, according to Viñaza, *Bib. hist.* p. 550.]

Minsheu, London, 1623:

Same as above, but "Printed at London by John Haviland for George Latham. 1623." 19×27.6 c. Dictionary, x+391 pp.; Grammar, vi+84 pp.; Dialogues, ii+68 pp. (This, the second edition, is a textual reprint of the edition of 1599.)

Minsheu, London, 1617:

. . . Ductor in Linguas . . . The Guide into the Tongues. With their agreement and consent one with another, as also their etymologies . . . in these eleven languages, viz. English, British or Welsh, Low Dutch, High Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguez, Latine, Greeke, Hebrew, etc. By the industrie, study, labour, and at the charges of John Minsheu published and printed. Anno 1617 . . . Londini, apud Ioannem Browne . . . 26.5×39.8 c. xiv+543 pp. [2 columns]. [Bound in the same volume]: Vocabularium Hispanicolatinum et Anglicum . . . A Most Copious Spanish Dictionarie, with Latine and English (and sometime other languages) . . . By . . . John Minsheu . . . Londini . . . apud Ioannem Browne . . . 183 pp. [4 columns].

Minsheu, London, 1627:

Minshaei emendatio, vel à mendis Expurgatio, seu Augmentatio sui Ductoris in Linguas, . . . the Guide into Tongves. cum illarum Harmonia, & Etymologijs, Originationibus, Rationibus, & Deriuationibus in omnibus his nouem Linguis, viz. 1. Anglica. 2. Belgica. 3. Germanica. 4. Gallica. 5. Italica. 6. Hispanica. 7. Latina. 8. Graeca. 9. Hebraeca, &c. . . . The Guide into the Tongues . . . London, printed by Iohn Haviland. 1627. 25×38 c. iv+759 pp. [2 columns].

Nebrija, Granada, 1552:

Introductiones Latinae . . . Aelij Antonij Nebrissensis Grammatici . . . [At end]: Apud inclitam Granatam. Anno MDLII . . . 19.5×29.3 c. 318 pp. [Contains at end]:
Dictiones Graecae et Latinae, quae per artem sparguntur in ordinem

alphabetarium redactae [with Spanish equivalents], 27 pp. [2 columns].

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Dictionarium Aelij Antonij Nebrissensis Grammatici . . . Madrid . . . Antonio Marin, y Gabriel Ramirez. 1751. 21×30.2 c. [Contains]: Dictionarium Latinum, Hispanica explanatione . . . xii+408 pp. [2 columns]. Index verborum veterum . . . 2½ pp. Verba legum XII . . . 2½ pp. Voces barbarae & vulgares Ciceronianis oppositae & expositae, auctus a Ioanne Alvarez Sagredo Burgensi. 11 pp. Dictionarium propriorum nominum . . . emendatum & auctum Aelio Antonio Nebrissensi . . . cui ad vocum augmentum . . . innumerae aliae . . . per Magistrum D. Guilielmum Ocahasa . . . , 208 pp. Valerij probi grammatici de notis antiquarum litterarum, 6 pp. Diccionario de Romance en Latin por el maestro Antonio de Nebrisa . . . Van añadidos . . . pocos vocablos . . . por el maestro don Guillelmo Ocahasa. ii+127 pp. Compendio de algunos vocablos Arabigos, introducidos en Lengua Castellana, . . . por Francisco Lopez Tamarid, 5 pp.

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Oudin, Paris, 1616:

Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española. Thresor des deux langues françoise et espagnolle . . . par Cesar Oudin . . . Paris, chez la veuve Marc Orry . . . 1616. 16.5×23.5 c. vi+427 pp. [2 columns].

Pineda, London, 1740:

Nuevo Diccionario, Español e Ingles e Ingles y Español. Que contiene la etimologia, de la propria, y metaphorica significacion de las palabras, terminos de artes y sciencias, nombres de hombres, familias, lugares, y de las principales plantas, tanto en España, como en las Indias-Occidentales. Junto con las palabras arabigas y moriscas recebidas en la lengua española. Con la explicacion de las palabras dificiles, proverbios, y frases en Don Quijote, y en otros graves autores de dicha lengua . . . por Pedro Pineda, autor de la Gramatica Española, y

maestro de dicha lengua en la Ciudad de Londres. En Londres: por F. Gyles, T. Woodward, T. Cox, J. Clarke, A. Millar, y P. Vaillant, 1740. [The title is repeated in English]: A New Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish, etc. 24×38 c. viii+790 pp. [3 columns].

Valbuena, Madrid, 1793:

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Le Grand dictionnaire et trésor de trois langues, François, Flameng & Espaignol, avec tous les noms des Royaumes, Villes & lieux du Monde. Troisième partie [françois-espagnol]. Antwerpen, Caes. Ioachim Trognesius. 1640. 14×18.5 c. viii+400 pp. [2 columns].

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